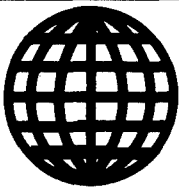


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30 MAY 1990



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INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

RMDSZ Statement Responds to Anti-Hungarian Article

90CH0077A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 18 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Statement issued by the National Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Association of Romania (RMDSZ)]

[Text] The 11 April 1990 issue of the newspaper AZI published an article signed by Dr. Ion Coja. It came as a serious shock to the Hungarian populace in Romania. Just a few weeks after the tragic Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] events, when relationships between various ethnic groups and the political situation were tense, the first page of the first issue of the National Salvation Front's [NSF] daily newspaper presented this article along with the announcement of Mr. Ion Iliescu's presidential candidacy. The spirit in which this article was written is diametrically opposed to the NSF's statement concerning nationality rights which was publicized on 5 January 1990.

Strongly inspired by chauvinism, the views expressed in the article substantially question the legality of nationality rights. The methods used in the article also exactly fit the pattern of arguments used to proclaim this anti-democratic ideology. Here are a few examples: The article announced that "after 1944 the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] was dominated by minorities, mainly by Hungarians, many of whom rushed to join the RCP to cover up the crimes they had committed during the years of Horthy's occupation of Northern Transylvania." Based on some very naive view, the real reason for this was a hope that "proletarian internationalism" would also resolve the problems experienced by nationalities—this being the reason for such a great number of minority members in the RCP during the years of illegality and the initial years after the war. Bringing up the national origins of RCP cadres is a thesis frequently used in recent times by certain circles. The essence of this thesis is remarkable even if it is not expressed in specific terms: One should not blame communist ideology for all the sufferings in the country during the past 45 years. Instead, the great number of Hungarians, Jews, etc. who infiltrated the leading echelons of the party should be blamed. To anyone even only superficially familiar with the history of the past four decades it should be rather apparent that an identical Stalinist totalitarian system also gained power in other East European countries in which no minority Hungarians or Jews and other minorities existed to corrupt the party.

The statement that after 1946 "the Hungarians used various means, including backhanded maneuvers, to try to influence Petru Groza, and to thus ... extort for themselves ... an autonomous territory, their own university, etc." is not only vulgar beyond qualification, it also reflects terrible malice. The Bolyai University was established in 1945 and the founding document was

signed by king Mihaly I, accordingly, well before the Groza government came into power, at a time when one could hope that democratic order would come about in Romania. The autonomous territory was created in 1952, at which time Petru Groza played the role of a puppet, as is well known.

The statement that "Romania finds itself in a position where its borders are being questioned" is entirely false. Neither the representatives of Hungarians in Romania, nor the Hungarians of Hungary have ever announced or suggested such a thing. Questioning the validity of the borders may originate from certain factions of the Hungarian emigration; these, however, do not represent Hungary's position, nor do they speak for Hungary. Viewed in general, the political weight of such statements is minimal. Only one group watches and pays extreme attention to statements made by miscellaneous groupings—from which the RMDSZ publicly delimits itself and which the RMDSZ has publicly condemned!—and that group is composed of precisely those destructive elements who make this statement whenever some right should be acquired by the Hungarian minority. Their goal is none other than to poison the interstate relations between Romania and Hungary.

The proposal that minority organizations should make a "solemn pledge of allegiance or something similar" is misleading. That is, there are two possibilities: Either the author of the article disregards the statements made by the RMDSZ which from the outset declared loyalty, or he questions the sincerity of these statements. In this case, however, i.e. if he does not believe that the Hungarian minority is sincere, what could one or another kind of pledge of allegiance mean to him?

The author of the article agrees with the idea that there should be native language education, but only in elementary schools. In this way he comes into obvious conflict with commonly known, internationally recognized principles contained both in the documents signed by Romania, and in the Gyulafehevar [Alba Julia] proclamation of 1 December 1918.

The author insists that the Hungarian and the Szekely people are essentially different. The idea is old, nevertheless it is fully unfounded. To this date only the difference in their ethnic origin has been brought up, while the author's statement amounts to substantially more: He mentions two different languages, the Hungarian and the Szekely. And since he expresses strong concern for the preservation of the Szekely ethnic origin, he firmly demands that separate "school (branches)" be established "for the Szekely people, where they can study in the Szekely language. And not in Hungarian!" To anyone aware of the facts this amounts to nonsense, as if the author demanded a Moc [Romanian from Transylvania] school for the Moc people where the language used to study is Moc. And not Romanian!

The author also provides an entirely new concept which is as nice as it is dangerous. The following is at issue: "The rights of Hungarians in Romania belong to the sphere of civil law, supplemented nevertheless by an aspect of criminal law which can hardly be disregarded—the crimes that were committed in Northern Transylvania." Accordingly, this line of thought conveys the idea that some national community is collectively responsible for the actions of individual persons, or more accurately: that individual generations are collectively responsible for the individual actions of members of previous generations. Besides the fascist ideology, no trend of thought or political action has proclaimed such principles in the 20th century.

Consequently, we consider it our duty to request clarification from the NSF. If the author's views do not reflect the views of the NSF, the Front should publicly disclaim its identity with the statements. If the opposite is the case, we will be forced to draw the necessary conclusions regarding the credibility and moral authority of the NSF's statement concerning minority rights, just as with regard to possible future political cooperation between the NSF and the RMDSZ.

13 April 1990

HUNGARY

Lax Absentee Voting Rule Favors Communists

MSZMP, MSZDP Fail To Utilize Loophole

25000694F Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 31 Mar 90 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Missed Mobilization"]

[Text] Aware of the preliminary results, it appears that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP] were left without representation in Parliament due in part to the self-assuredness of their leaders, and in part because of their mistaken election tactics. If one may believe Monday's results, both organizations remained below the so-called four-percent threshold, i.e., they did not receive even four percent of the nationwide total number of votes cast for regional slates. Based on the results of earlier public opinion surveys, this situation could not serve as a real surprise to the leadership of either of these parties.

It turned out at the end of February that the MSZMP was able to establish 19 regional slates, while the MSZDP managed with 18. The Social Democrats were unable to establish regional slates in Szabolcs and Vas Counties, while the Communists were left without a regional slate in Pest County. Accordingly, supporters of the two parties in these counties were unable to vote for these organizations. This represented a great disadvantage, because, for example, Pest County, the county with

the largest populace of 990,000, is sending 14 representatives elected from slates to Parliament.

Their party forgot to notify Pest County Communists who were left without a slate that they could vote for the MSZMP slate beyond the county borders. That is, Section 40 of the election law would have enabled these people to cast their votes not at their place of residence, but at the place where they stay. To do so they should have requested a certificate from the council secretary at their place of residence, and with that they could have supported the MSZMP slate in a district outside the county, which they had chosen in advance. Those residing in Budaors, for example, could have taken the blue bus to cast their votes for the Budapest Communist slate of candidates.

Lacking accurate data one cannot tell at HVG press time (Tuesday dawn) whether such a "general mobilization" would have helped the MSZMP and the MSZDP situation. One thing is certain, however: These two organizations were incapable of joining the battle as a modern party for those few thousand votes that were missing. True, the Agrarian Alliance and the Entrepreneurs' Party called attention to this trick recently; still, they were unable to surpass the four-percent threshold.

Legal Provisions

25000694F Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY
in Hungarian 30 Oct 89 p 6

[Law No. 34 of 1989 concerning the election of National Assembly representatives, adopted at the 20 October 1989 session of the National Assembly]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

40.2. A voting citizen who is absent from his permanent residence on election day may request the local council executive committee secretary at the place of his temporary residence, or the place where he is staying, or, on election day, the ballot counting committee, that he be included in the voter registry. Such a request shall be supported by a certificate issued by the local council executive committee secretary at the voter's permanent residence.

40.3. Voters possessing a certificate pursuant to 40.2 may vote for the candidates of the regional voting district [regional slate in a county or Budapest which is not the permanent residence of the voter]. A voter may cast his ballot for an individual candidate only if his temporary residence (the place where he is staying) and his permanent residence are in the same individual voting district. [passage omitted]

POLAND

Statement by Prominent Intellectuals on Polish Public Life

90P20032A Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
9 May 90 p 3

[Text] A meeting on Poland's present situation was organized in Krakow by Jerzy Turowicz, editor in chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. The participants issued a statement on Poland's public life, which they presented for publication to the Polish Press Agency [PAP].

The statement was signed by: Jan Blonski, Halina Bortowska, Stefan Bratkowski, Ryszard Bugaj, Andrzej Celinski, Pawel Czatortycki, Marek Edelman, Stefan Frankiewicz, Bronislaw Geremek, Mieczyslaw Gil, Julia Hartwig, Jan Kofman, Zofia Kuratowska, Witold Lutoslawski, Andrzej Lapicki, Aleksander Malachowski, Adam Michnik, Artur Miedzyrecki, Father Stanislaw Musial, Andrzej Potocki, Mieczyslaw Pszon, Jan Maria Rokita, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Wladyslaw Strozewski, Jan Jozef Szczepanski, Andrzej Szczepkowski, Andrzej Szczekliki, Maciej Szumowski, Jozef Slisz, Krzysztof Sliwinski, Father Jozef Tischler, Jerzy Turowicz, Father Stanislaw Tkocz, Andrzej Wajda, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Wiktor Woroszylski, Henryk Wujec, Krystyna Zachwatowicz, Jerzy Zdrada, and Tadeusz Zielinski.

Here is the text of the document:

Polish Solidarity, a Poland which was recovering its freedom and independence, stood at the origins of the turnaround now taking place in the future of Central Europe. We embarked on this road not so long ago. In this situation, it is important to discern and understand a connection between politics and morality in order to retain the fundamental values of political ethics.

Polish society united not only against the communist system but also around a positive ideological program issuing from the realm of Christian and democratic European values. Solidarity created a model of action on behalf of human and national rights, regaining liberties and restoring freedom, building public institutions, and restoring the truth. Solidarity's and Lech Walesa's international prestige and public support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government derive precisely from that model, and they continue to constitute our national asset.

However, we find diseases in public life which are most often a consequence of the communist dictatorship. Without offering a list of such dangers, we would like to point out those which are the most acute.

Our society has fallen into a state of torpor and apathy. One hears voices that nothing has changed. We should resolutely counteract such views. With all due respect for the attitude of forgiveness, we believe that the elementary feeling of justice needs to be satisfied: wrongs should

be called wrongs, misdeeds should be called misdeeds, and responsibility for the deeds committed should be publicly revealed. This does not mean that we want to take revenge. Despite the downfall of the authoritarian power, there is a certain mistrust of democratic institutions and procedures, hence the temptation of the "iron fist" policy for some people and the propensity to promote the stereotype of the Pole as Catholic, or "Poland for the Poles." There is no other way for Poland, however, than the strengthening of democratic institutions. In the 1989 elections, 260 senators and deputies were elected to the parliament on the ticket of the citizens' committees. We expect these deputies and senators to work for restoring Poland's standing as an independent state rule by law which is rebuilding the economy of the country and protecting the interests of citizens. However, we maintain that the present term of the Polish Sejm and Senate should be shortened by half, so that Poland would be ruled by a fully democratically elected parliament in accordance with the principles set by the Council of Europe. Let Poland arrive at the 200th anniversary of the May 3 Constitution as a state endowed with a new constitution and with new supreme authorities chosen by the will of the nation.

The old specters of nationalism are coming back to life in the postcommunist societies of Central Europe. Slogans of ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, and chauvinism have surfaced in the political campaigns of recent months. The exploitation of such attitudes by political groups (especially right wing ones) gives rise to concern; this is dramatically exemplified by incidents at the Palace of Culture where, on May 1st, brigades guarding the Congress of the Polish Right openly sported fascist emblems, and in Kielce and Lodz, where anti-Semitic disturbances took place. We want to emphasize very strongly that such practices contradict our ideals and do harm to Poland's international reputation. Tolerance and cooperation between peoples, religions, and cultures have been and should remain Poland's tradition. It is our duty to ensure the right of the ethnic minorities to preserve their cultural identity, language, and history. We should fight against hatred, against pushing aside and even rejecting the weak and the sick.

Invoking Christian values is a natural phenomenon in Polish public life. This is exactly what the tradition of Solidarity is. However, there have been cases of utilitarian references to Christianity for the purpose of political struggle. Meanwhile, Christian values should be used to promote the creation of community bonds centering on fundamental national and civic tasks rather than to divide people. Sensitizing the conscience of the people to the evil ensuing from intolerance, xenophobia, hatred, as well as fear or insensitivity toward people affected by misfortune, especially the incurably ill, should be a special task of the church, particularly of those priests working in parishes and in local pastoral ministries.

Information policy should improve, in radio and television as well as in the press. The truth, no matter how difficult or inconvenient it is, should be the supreme norm of this policy.

Given the difficult financial position of our society, populist programs and slogans find a ready audience. Sometimes these assume the form of egalitarian demagoguery which spreads envy and arouses frustration. But such a national misfortune as is our ruined economy must not be used by anybody to earn political gain.

There have also been instances of antipathy toward the intelligentsia and a neglect of culture. Now and then we meet with arrogance and indifference to man's misfortune, to his blameless helplessness, unemployment, and poverty. The range of poverty in our country is expanding; this should be counteracted by a clearly formulated social policy corresponding to what the state can now afford. A lot also depends on a simple reflex of human solidarity and social aid initiatives.

The authorities should be more energetic in such cases where common human and national values are being threatened. This applies equally to nature and the natural environment, to national assets, manufacturing establishments, scientific and cultural institutions, and to works of science and art. The culture of the nation, as well as its creators and guardians—teachers in all positions—should be particularly cared for.

Pluralism of political parties is an important factor in restoring a democratic public life. Under new legal regulations, several dozen parties have already been formed. Their presence in the public forum is still weak, but the negative elements of struggle between the parties and its destabilizing consequences are already appearing with destructive force. Even now, the sowing of hatred and revenge, slander and parochial egoism is profoundly disturbing. Considerations of the good of the people and the state should be continuously present in the activities of the parties. The Solidarity tradition contains the greatly topical message about a civic, pluralist, and community-based society. This is not at all a naive illusion but rather a pragmatic political idea.

Politics must be guided by a clear canon of moral principles which places the good of the individual, of the people, and of the state returned to the people above those of private interests. It is on such principles that the policy of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is founded, and we want to express our support for and confidence in it. At this important moment of self-government elections, we cherish the conviction that our nation will rise to the challenge of the time and translate hopes for a self-governing and solidary Republic into reality.

YUGOSLAVIA

Founding Member of Belgrade Green Party Interviewed

90BA0030A Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian
2 Mar 90 pp 10-12

[Interview with Green Party cofounder Dr. Vukasin Pavlovic by Sasa Barbulovic; place and date not given: "Socialism Has Literally Suffocated People"]

[Text] Your part of the political skies has recently been enriched by an ecological party. The founding congress of the Green Party [ZS], held at the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade, adopted the "Green Manifesto" and joined those calling for new republican elections. The Green Party will reportedly draw on all people of good will, as well as on "plants and animals—if that were allowed under new laws."

One of the founders and currently a member of the executive committee of the Green Party is Dr. Vukasin Pavlovic, a professor on the Faculty of Political Science in Belgrade and a scholar who has been studying the sociology of new social movements for many years now.

[STUDENT] Every ecological movement at some point faces the question of whether it wants to organize into a party. You presumably had additional reasons for your perhaps excessively long hesitation?

[Pavlovic] For several theoretical reasons, I believe that forming a political party is a double-edged sword with regard to the very intentions of new social movements. As someone who studies both parties and movements, I have reservations about the party form of organization and activity, since I feel that every organization at the same time has a tendency to create an oligarchy and has built-in undemocratic elements. Green parties, because they view themselves as antiparties, movement parties, perhaps stand a chance of resisting undemocratic challenges.

All ecological movements, including our own, toss and turn over this fire of uncertainty and doubt about the party form of political organization. We will have a very broad circle of people, with an increasing understanding of ecological problems but who are perhaps not ready to regard themselves as members of the ecological movement. A second, narrower circle is represented by the ecological movement, and it makes possible a greater level of coordination between citizen initiatives or activities by local ecological groups. Thirdly, the narrowest circle of ecological involvement is the ecological party. Here, there will be citizens who feel that they are needed to solve ecological problems and who are politically committed.

[STUDENT] Why politically committed?

[Pavlovic] The classical political centers are very indifferent towards nonpolitical activity. In many places

(Bor, Pancevo, Zajecar, Sabac, Belgrade...), there are very strong ecological groups that have been organizing protest demonstrations for some time, that are also having a major impact in their areas, but that have yet to succeed in taking over the centers of political decision-making. At the same time, the ecological situation in these places is getting worse all the time. It is obvious that we have to go to the political channels because they are the only way to the political centers.

[STUDENT] What is the attitude of the "new" and "old" parties towards the ZS?

[Pavlovic] The founding congress of the Green Party was attended by representatives of several new political groups: the UJDI [Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], Democratic Forum, representatives of the Social-Democratic Party that is being founded, representatives of the Democratic Party—but no one from the old political groups was there, not even from the youth organization (although that group should have been interested) nor from SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People], which "beats its chest" about how it is ready to deal with ecology. To say nothing of the League of Communists. They do not even have the necessary appreciation to form a new policy, in a very important area, that of ecology, to come and see what is going on here, to see whether they want to ally themselves with us, or whether we are an adversary.... Political institutions in all socialist states, from the many years they have been in power, have become slow-witted, lazy.

Rightist League of Communists

[STUDENT] Where do you place the Green Party on the classical breakdown of political subjects (left-wing-center-right wing)?

[Pavlovic] There is no doubt that we see our political party as being on the political left wing, which is, after all, where Greens throughout the world are positioned. This does not mean that the Green Party will not be supported by a broader electorate, given the universality of ecological problems. But in this narrow political sense, the "Greens" will be on the Left.

[STUDENT] What is your assessment of the situation of our Left?

[Pavlovic] In the majority of countries that have called themselves socialist, the range of the Left is enormous, precisely because it is predominantly covered by the communist organization. That organization has officially dominated this area, pretending to be the sole representative of the Left. With regard to how the communist program has been carried out in those countries, it is clear that the communists have jeopardized and, in a certain sense, disgraced the Left and the categories that comprise it, from the idea of socialism to Marxism as a theory.

Today, in my opinion, the Left is vacant, or rather it still has yet to be adequately realized. New political groups

are aspiring to occupy the political center—a good example of this is the Democratic Party. In some of its program ideas that relate to the political system, the Democratic Party does perhaps lean towards the Left, but in its ideas and strategy with respect to the economy, it goes more towards the Right. The political groups with an exclusive national orientation are much more towards the Right.

[STUDENT] What happened to the League of Communists [LC] if the Left is vacant in the political sense?

[Pavlovic] The LC was responsible for many mistakes concerning this division into left and right. Declaratively, it is a leftist party, but in practice it has adopted several rightist positions. There is no doubt about the slippage of the League of Communists on its national or nationalistic position, or rather on accepting a nationalistic position as an essential element of its political formula. This objectively pushed the LC into a rightist position, crucifying it in a political sense; within the LC, one can find a very broad spectrum, from rightist positions to leftist reformist orientations.

[STUDENT] Let's get back to ecology. One gets the impression that thus far there have been considerable misunderstandings between socialism and ecology...

[Pavlovic] It is actually difficult to refute the claim that socialism has literally suffocated people. Data show that the top seven positions on the list of pollution in Europe are held by socialist countries. Yugoslavia ranks as number four. Despite the fact that, for example, in the USSR 1.7 percent of the gross national income is spent on protecting the human environment, there are data that indicate that 50 million people in that country live in pollution that is 10 times higher than what is acceptable. On the other hand, the most developed countries spend two to five percent of their gross national income on this area.

We are much poorer, but in its "Manifesto," the Green Party proposes spending two percent from the same source. And then there are still resources that can be gotten from the international community whose existence we don't even know about. I was asked in the FRG what happened to the funds that Yugoslavia received for cleaning up ponds and marshes along the Sava and Danube. This is important to the West because these are a transit points for migratory birds on their way south. Neither then nor later could I get at the information about what that money was spent on.

Autonomy and Autarchy

[STUDENT] What arguments do you use to explain your assertion, expressed at the founding congress of the ZS, that our political system fails the "ecological test"?

[Pavlovic] Every analysis from an ecological point of view shows that our political system is in complete opposition to the ecological approach, which is primarily global in nature. First of all, autarchy, the fragmentation

of the political system. Our divisions now have the character of national, religious, regional, and local boundaries—not just republican ones—and all this is in opposition to the ecological approach. You can't have clean air in just one municipality; the wind will carry pollution over from the territory of another municipality. You can't have part of Sava clean; it's either clean or dirty in its entirety.

This, of course, does not mean that the Green Party supports some sort of centralization, either in the classical, bureaucratic sense or according to new, technocratic models. The Green Party must support an increase in the ability of global society to intervene in an ecological sense. In the modern world, serious thought is even being given to limiting the sovereignty of states, because the question of whether one state, in the name of its legal and political sovereignty, will affect the health of the citizens of other states through some major ecological catastrophe is no longer a moot question for the planet.

It is important to note that this sort of increase in the competence of the global community to deal with ecological problems in no way has to affect autonomy and the right to differences, nor the need by each local community to take care of itself from its own viewpoint. However, there are drastic differences between autonomy, as an essential question of any democracy, and autarchy. Understood in the democratic sense, autonomy does not mean the autarchy of our country today, where there is economic war between everyone, and everyone in fact loses.

[STUDENT] Besides fragmentation, what are the other negative characteristics of our political system from the ecological viewpoint?

[Pavlovic] Another negative characteristic is wastefulness, and is stimulated in part by the political system. Economic, intellectual, and ecological wastefulness. Every republic has proceeded to set up its own petrochemical combines, but we import oil. Every republic wants to be independent in terms of energy, and this is part of the reason that we moved towards the nuclear program sooner and that Krsko was in fact built. A number of things show how the political system leads to a sort of—not wastefulness, but in an ecological sense—hemorrhaging.

To all of this must be added the fact that, for example, the existing political, economic, and military elites are not at all motivated to think ecologically. All of this relegates ecology to the sidelines, as something that has to be dealt with only when some ostensibly existential question of the economy is to be decided.

[STUDENT] The relationship between the economy and ecology is most frequently seen as a set of extremes that are mutually exclusive. Do you think that the theory that it is impossible to make a profit and protect the environment at the same time is correct?

[Pavlovic] It is commonly thought that the economy is first and foremost the medium between society and nature, and that the economy, together with modern technologies, is the main culprit in the accumulated ecological calamity and waste. As a matter of fact, in a society like ours, the economy and technology are under the unbending director's baton of the political sphere. The same is true of nonsocialist societies, which are basically also political.

Independently of politics, the logic of profits, of returns, must be changed in the economy. Based on that logic, an exploitative attitude towards nature has developed. According to many estimates, more damage has been done ecologically in the past 50 years than in the entirety of history from the emergence of man up to that point.

The position of all green parties in the world, including ours, is that ecological logic must be introduced into economics as well. We advocate an economic approach to ecology. That which ostensibly, from an economic and financial point of view, appears to be a gain may, when viewed in the long term, according to ecological criteria, yield major losses. It is necessary that the ecological viewpoint be included in every program for development, in every investment policy and decision, so that we do not gain in the short term but lose in the long term, or in order to see the ecological price of economic projects.

[STUDENT] How do ecologists regard the program supported by the Federal Executive Council?

[Pavlovic] Even the program offered by the Markovic government does not adequately include the ecological dimension. In our opinion, that is perhaps the greatest weakness in the program, that it does not concern itself with the ecological costs, with the ecological aspects of the overall economic transformation.

[STUDENT] It seems to me that the Green Party will be compelled to spend a long time explaining to other political forces and to voters that it is not opposed to economic reforms. Ultimately, don't you think that there is a tremendous thirst for profits in our region today?

[Pavlovic] In spite of all that, it is not understood that this is another variety of dependence, another noose around the neck of those societies that, primarily because of financial overindebtedness and because of inequitable relations in the international economic order, are compelled to carelessly exploit their ecological resources, to sell their goods on the world market for a pittance, and in this way to be increasingly the cause of their own undoing. Today, the most industrially developed countries are in a much better position than countries in the second or third circle. Many ecological problems and many negative ecological effects are migrating into those countries, and they include Yugoslavia.

Of course, there are also global effects such as, for example, holes in the ozone layer, which affect developed and underdeveloped countries alike. Still, the fact remains that ecology is one of the critical items in relations between North and South. The dependency of the South on the North passes in part through the channels of shifting ecological costs and problems to the underdeveloped and poor countries.

Admission Ticket for Europe

In an ecological sense, we were recently thrown out of Europe, and are now somewhere in Asia or Africa. If we want to return, we will need an ecological admission ticket for Europe, in addition to political changes and economic preconditions. We can change the political system, but Europe will not accept us with the agricultural produce that we have, for example. There, the use of pesticides in agriculture has been reduced to a minimum, while in our country you still come across incredible things. A farmer from my region does not eat grapes from his vineyard because he knows how much he has sprayed them, but that still doesn't stop him from selling the grapes! The same is true of other produce as well. They will simply return our produce if we do not accept their standards.

[STUDENT] Perhaps Europe will accept us in the role of nuclear waste dump? According to the results of a measurement conducted by Dr. Nada Ajdacic and coworkers, short-life radionuclides from an artificial (reactor) source were "caught" in August and January in several places in northeastern Serbia. Did the vehement rejection of these results and the silence by some official institutions constitute an additional reason for founding the Green Party?

[Pavlovic] The thing that independent researchers like Nada Ajdacic insist is very honest towards the public: They insist that there were increased doses of radiation, or rather that the existence of these short-life radionuclides from an artificial source was established beyond dispute, but that it is not their duty to expose the sources of this radiation. That is the duty of state organs. There are several hypotheses about the sources. One is that this is a dump site for nuclear waste, another is that the sources of the radiation are the nuclear power plants in neighboring countries. But this matter simply must be investigated, and the Green Party for its part will insist that amidst these conflicts between individuals and institutions a group of independent experts be formed, as some sort of arbitration team, because the logic of institutions is one thing, and it is very difficult to change.

[STUDENT] At the very least, it is the logic of "don't agitate the public"?

[Pavlovic] Unfortunately, in many of these institutions, in important positions, there are people who have taken part in the decisionmaking whereby the public was not informed in a timely fashion about the actual effects of

the Chernobyl catastrophe. The current minister for ecology, according to my recollection, held some post in the city at that time.

"Incidents" of radiation show how impotent the individual is in encounters with institutions. Individuals work for years on these types of measurements, and when they try to draw the public's attention to the results, they encounter a wall of silence, and in this case a reaction intended to cast doubt upon their work. The system takes great pains to devote all its resources to make it impossible for independent scientists to go public with their cautionary data. A large amount of data, especially those about radiation, are most frequently designated strictly confidential, a state secret, or under embargo. One of the key positions of the Green Party is that there is no reason whatsoever, be it political, state, military, or whatever, that gives anyone the right to keep data concerning our health under embargo. How can we forgive the people responsible for the delay in information on Chernobyl? A large number of citizens of Belgrade went walking that evening in a highly radioactive rainfall, which we learned about only two days later. These are unthinkable, intolerable things.

[STUDENT] The ecological movement in Yugoslavia, if I am not mistaken, emerged for some similar reasons?

[Pavlovic] The ecological movement, at least when we are talking about this area here, sprung up from the very strong antinuclear movement that took root when the Yugoslav government at the time declared its intention to go over to a nuclear program, by building first four, and then a full dozen nuclear power plants. That was when an informal core of the antinuclear movement was formed, consisting of journalists, physicists, economic specialists in various different regions. I see the greatest successes of that core as being the creation of a critical, ecological public opinion, especially after Chernobyl, and passage of the law on a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants until the year 2000.

[STUDENT] Some call that the most important postwar law.

[Pavlovic] In any event, it is one of the successes about which even countries with ecological movements with a much longer tradition and a more solid form of organization can scarcely boast... The other thing is that the level of ecological awareness does not correspond to the actual danger, and that there is a discrepancy between that awareness of the citizens and their readiness to take concrete action.

Ecological Socialism

[STUDENT] Representatives of 30 or so ecological groups in Yugoslavia met at the end of January in Split. You also took part in this meeting. How far away are we from a Yugoslav ecological party right now?

[Pavlovic] We are both far away and very close. I think that in Split the representatives of the Federation of

Greens of Slovenia were right. They think that since that was our first meeting, it would be rash to immediately go over to some fixed organization, and that it is better to build an organization through action. In my opinion, a Yugoslav ecological party and movement will be achieved through two channels. The focal point would be horizontal ties on major ecoprojects. For example, I am thinking about transrepublic ecological projects such as "Eco-Adriatic," "Eco-Sava," and the "Danube-Morava-Vardar" project. The second line of organization would be through the formation of republican "green" parties.

Otherwise, I am very satisfied with the meeting in Split. I think that it was the first step towards a Yugoslav ecological party. We formed a Coordinating Committee that will meet in the next two months in Sarajevo, mostly because of Zenica. Specifically, one of the agreed-upon joint campaigns concerns air pollution, and we took Zenica as the most polluted city in Europe. At the same time, we will conduct campaigns in all polluted places.

[STUDENT] Has the Green Party, "headquartered in Belgrade," joined in with the demands for new assembly elections in Serbia?

[Pavlovic] We believe that once constitutional amendments, laws on political organization and other important laws (such as a law on elections and a law on freedom of the press) have been passed, new elections in Serbia will be inevitable. In addition, representatives of newly founded parties should participate in the formulation of a law on elections. New parties see a better solution in a proportionate electoral principle.

[STUDENT] Which candidates does the ZS intend to support in the (possible) spring elections?

[Pavlovic] I will propose that we have three types of candidates: proven fighters in the ecological domain, regardless of whether or not they are members of the ZS, plus our "green" list, and we should not refrain from extending our support to good ecological programs by candidates of other parties.

[STUDENT] I suppose that the ZS will go into the elections with the vision of "ecological socialism." How do you interpret that?

[Pavlovic] It would be an alternative to societies that up to now have called themselves socialist, the main formative principle of which was naked political power and a bureaucratized apparatus, but also an alternative to societies based on the logic of profits, since it is precisely that logic that has resulted in the massive destruction of the human environment.

"Ecosocialism" avoids the traps of both these models, offering the model of a society in which the focus is the quality of life.

Chairman of Alliance of Greens of Croatia Interviewed

90BA0032A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
25 Mar 90 p 8

[Interview with Inge Perko-Separovic, management theorist and president of the Croatian Alliance of Greens, by Stjepo Martinovic; place and date not given: "Even the Greens Are Thinking Seriously"]

[Text] With a bit of good-natured ironic distance, one might say that the pluralization of the political scene in Croatia was "ordered" by professors in the School of Political Science at Zagreb University. That is, building up over the years the channels of communication between their profession or science and events in our political tissue—even when they were threatened with the penalty of abolishing the school for doing so!—the faculty of that institution participated zealously in criticism of the system, the party, the way the authorities operate...and indeed even the behavior of those who represent the government. Beginning with caustic observations and analyses, which were early contributions to the "crisisology" of the consensus economy, the party state, integral self-management, and other ideological blind allies of recent history, many of the distinguished professors of the School of Political Science were knocking on the door of the pluralistic arena, bearing in their hands the program of new (or renewed) parties.

A majority of them played an important role in the League of Communists (Bilandzic, Caratan, Siber, Strpic...), some have embraced the redesigned Socialist Alliance (Jantol...), and still others have drafted the founding documents of new parties (Lerotic...). Only Inge Perko-Separovic has gone to the Greens, which many consider the only authentic alternative, and in the Founding Assembly of the Croatian Alliance of Greens she was unanimously elected president of the most singular (and not only because it is headed by a woman) new political grouping in our republic.

Technological Repression

[Martinovic] Since the stereotype of an activist of the Greens comes nowhere close to that of a university professor with an incontestable scientific habitus, clarify a bit your evolution from a management theorist to a protagonist of an authentic alternative.

[Perko-Separovic] Well, I would not agree that action is the first priority, since environmental movements are driven by the scientific knowledge, and that is why some of those who have arrived at that knowledge are refusing to serve the values and goals offered by the "scientific-technological revolution" and do not equate economic growth with social progress.

It is those scientists who are questioning the dominant value system who are at the heart of the environmental movement...they are the ones who have been building

bridges to the public in order to preserve life on earth. In my case, it really is a question of evolution.

That is, in my study of management I first became aware of the role of the organization, and I thus became aware of the tragic consequences of the dilettante approach to management in our country. I described that in a book entitled "Teorija organizacije" [Organization Theory], and then I saw that attention should be paid to technology as an essential variable, since, once selected, it directly determines the economy and politics, and thereby the distribution of power as well. Since power relations cannot change unless the technology also changes, the socialist project, the centerpiece of which is changing the ownership of the means of production, stumbles precisely because it is unable to overthrow the relations of subordination and domination dictated by the technology.

I thus arrived at a technology which gives rise to extreme domination: nuclear technology.... I was simply shocked when I realized its repressive nature! I realized that we have to seek a way out, that elimination of technological repression is a condition for our survival...and I once again found myself at the beginning, with that awareness of the role of management. Man in his world can survive only if through management growth is replaced by development which the environment can tolerate. That is the essence of the alternative, that new view of technology, and this is a political issue par excellence.

[Martinovic] You have an impressive curriculum vitae as a scientist and expert, you have taught all the way from the United States (as a Fulbright professor) to Australia, you have been active in professional organizations (6 years as member of the Executive Committee of the International Political Science Association); did this influence your turn toward the Greens?

[Perko-Separovic] Not directly, but Chernobyl had a particular impact on me because of where I was when it happened, in the United States. I was shocked that the Americans did not resist ideological triumphalism, and I had to remind the students that the victims in the Ukraine were people just like them. At first they were ashamed, and then they applauded me! I soon noted that even notorious believers in infinite progress are beginning to see that there is less and less room for carrying out their projections. By having placed at the center what maintains life and what destroys it, they were all a step away from the Green paradigm.

Movement or Political Party

[Martinovic] The Green commitment sprang up from the awareness of the environmental limitations of development. Some 20 years ago it moved masses of demonstrators against pollution, nuclear technology, armament...and then segments of the Green movement "crystallized" into political parties. To what extent will the Croatian Alliance of Greens, which you head, be a movement, and to what extent a political party?

[Perko-Separovic] However true it may be that movements for the environment and peace sprang up first without a political structure, and were only later followed by political parties, it should be borne in mind that the problems of the nineties are quite different from the problems of the seventies. The processes of devastation of the planetary ecosystem and difficulties in our own house have accelerated in a frightening way. Civil initiative remains the first legitimate step, but from the general goal—survival without threatening the environmental security of future generations—one quickly arrives at the political intention of taking part in decisions concerning economic, social, and cultural development. The center of power, in the executive branch or in the parliament, will not give up growth in order to conquer the consumerist mentality, but the Greens must go there, into the institutions, in order to influence a change in development strategy.

That is why the Alliance of Greens is at the same time a coalition of protagonists of diverse interests who have rallied around a common goal and the "connecting link" of matrix-structured segments, which is much closer to a postmodernist community of equal elements than to a classical political party.

[Martinovic] However, in recent newspaper surveys of the potential success of participants in the upcoming elections (START, DANAS, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, VECERNJI LIST...) the Greens are doing quite well against the old and new parties.

[Perko-Separovic] Those surveys can only indicate the disposition of future voters, since their set of instruments is deficient in several ways. Nevertheless, it is pleasant to learn that people expect something of us—and it is equally true that it is only by showing great responsibility that one dares to claim that political capital. Since we arrived at a polluted environment and an alarming state of natural sources noticeably earlier than at a productivity in line with that aggression against the environment, there will be no lack of grounds for awakening people's environmental consciousness and for politicizing environmental problems.

Unfortunately, we have the environmental crisis of the "first world" and the potential for repairing the damage and preventing new losses at the level of the "third world." I believe that this must not discourage us: the Greens, as soon as they are able to influence decision-making, will demand that our foreign debt be offered to interested parties to be converted to money to cover environmental projects. A lot of this is going on in the world...we only need to think up sound programs!

[Martinovic] The place of the Greens in the future political landscape of Croatia will depend upon their agility and on the persuasiveness of their stance toward all the challenges; the production of food, that is, agriculture, is surely one of the areas in which you will "sprout wings" or—fall down.

[Perko-Separovic] Certainly, and in so doing we must change the minds of the uninformed that the Greens are a crowd of conservatives who would like nothing better than to go back to the wooden plow and farming without chemicals. The heart of the problem lies in the migration of pollution: high yields are in fact achieved through intensive application of chemicals, but there are losses in terms of water, forests, and wild animals...and people are being poisoned. The investment in agriculture has to be weighed against what is being achieved, and this must include the energy balance.

Food production is the production of energy...expressed in the caloric value of what we eat. That means that there are optimum investments and those which are not optimal...since what sense does it make to get a small quantity of calories from five times as much energy (represented by chemical fertilizer, chemicals for plant pest and disease control, transportation, and human labor...)? We should be particularly mindful of the biological availability of the soil, of erosion, of the subsurface water regime, of biocenoses..., and free ourselves of the aggressive anthropocentric attitude toward nature.

Family Planning

[Martinovic] Reconciling development to environmental restrictions inevitably touches upon the problems of population; demographic issues and also family planning are more acutely politicized. One of the aspects of this problem is the liberalization or prohibition of abortions....

[Perko-Separovic] My opinion, which need not coincide with the opinion of the election campaign staff of the Greens, is that the family should plan, since this is an expression of responsibility toward society and also toward one's own children. It is irresponsible to leave reproduction of the population to chance at a time when it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain mere existence. That is, however private a matter of the citizen the number of children in the family might be, the responsibility for the quality of their life is held in common—that is what puts restrictions on individual choice. As far as abortion is concerned, it is certainly the most unhealthy means of regulating population growth. It must remain the woman's free choice, but this must be seen as a solution resorted to when all others have failed...when there is no other solution.

[Martinovic] The Greens are in the front ranks of the fight for human rights...ultimately the entire Green idea was derived from the human right and (in the peace segment) to life in general. In view of the forums springing up everywhere for human rights and the inclusion of human rights in the programs of a majority of the political parties, does anything remain of the "Green commitment" toward that category?

[Perko-Separovic] The Green commitment concerning human rights and freedoms is different in that it is more conservative than liberal commitment. The Greens are aware that those rights cannot be unlimited, since they

are bounded by the fragility of Planet Earth. If we were to consume everything we might claim a right to, what would be left for our children?

[Martinovic] However sensible it might seem, the "divorce" between the party and state, between the party and the army, the police, the enterprise...is still having a hard time making headway in our country....

[Perko-Separovic] In our workplace, whether it be a school, an enterprise, or a garrison, we are there to work. Political organization should be moved to political space and free time! And not only to gain the millions of working hours, the years of worktime taken away from work, and the money squandered on political work where there is no place for it.

National Security

[Martinovic] The Greens will certainly demand a radical change of direction in the field of national security, that is, the armed forces, the police, and the intelligence service...?

[Perko-Separovic] The problem of national security is already in the domain of democratic debate, but not as much as it should be. European and global processes cannot be ignored, nor can the real causes of the demilitarization which the great powers have set in motion. The United States has realized that the seven percent of the national product which it sets aside for the military is taking away from its ability to respond economically to Japan and Western Europe, and the USSR, in building its mega-army, has fallen sick with all the symptoms of "third world virus." As far as we are concerned, it is time to redefine national security: Yugoslavia is less and less threatened in military and ideological terms, but more and more threatened in environmental terms. Our vital natural sources are in danger...we need to conduct a fierce debate about the reorganization and new role of the armed forces.

Certainly we should not undertake the changes too suddenly. We should remember China: When the military budget was cut to 1 percent of all GNP, food production increased, the economy took off, and then the top military leadership, seeing that it was losing power and influence, responded with Tiananmen Square!

I would also say that the ideological state, although unquestionably an anachronism, is a system which cannot be simply taken apart, but has to be carefully restructured. The army, the police, and other government agencies must not be under the protection of any political party, but must be agencies serving all the citizens.

[Martinovic] Finally, a word or two about Yugoslavia as a country in crisis: Do the Greens have a "formula" for its domestic difficulties and its ticket for admission into Europe?

[Perko-Separovic] Yugoslavia can succeed by turning its difficulties into advantages: when heterogeneity from republic to republic is seen as a principle related to the right to differ and differentiated mechanisms of management are derived from that. The dilettantish approach to management is the greatest obstacle to the formation of associations when there is a high degree of autonomy. We have to recognize common goals, and let everyone aspire as he wishes to his separate goals. As far as Europe is concerned, it is a Green commitment par excellence. I think that "region Europe" can be an extraordinary solution to the restrictions imposed on authentic (regional) interests by government borders and by the policy of the central authorities.

**Chairman of Serbian Democratic Party
Interviewed**

90BA0029A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
25 Mar 90 p 8

[Interview with Serbian Democratic Party chairman Dr. Jovan Raskovic by Miroslav Ivic and Jadranka Klisovic; place and date not given: "We Will Not Demand Any Sort of State"]

[Text] Neuropsychiatrist Dr. Jovan Raskovic from Sibenik, a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Art and, according to many people, the "spiritual leader" of Serbs in Croatia for the last year or two, has become not only the spiritual leader, but also the de facto leader of Serbs in Croatia through the formation of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], of which he is the chairman.

[DANAS] What will the representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party stand for if—or rather, when—they are elected to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia?

[Raskovic] From the very outset, the SDS has supported the principle of civil liberties. There is definite friction between liberties and the nation, the idea that one must first choose the national focus, in order then to restore overall liberties, universal and civil ones. Our position is different. We feel that freedom exists first and foremost, and that it is achieved through democracy, that the precondition for every freedom is a freely elected parliament that will accept the principle of freedom, and not the principle of ethnocentrism. Thus, we support the freedom of the citizen and of the human being. We look at freedom in a different way; for us, it is an ontological problem, an intrinsic problem, because freedom is the most important distinguishing characteristic of the human being, a person who is not free is not a true human being, he is simply the booty of either an ideology or some other social lie. Freedom has only one limitation, it is the limitation on the freedom of another person. It cannot be conditional on that alone, on the freedom of another person, of someone else. Making freedom conditional is a Marxist fabrication.

[DANAS] You said that a condition of freedom is a freely elected parliament?

[Raskovic] Yes, but at the same time even a freely and democratically elected parliament can function undemocratically, it depends on the people who comprise it. But generally whenever voting is conducted according to democratic principles, the representatives who are elected to the parliament are people who comply with the principles proclaimed during the election campaign. Otherwise, it would be fraud if people who were exclusive and ideologically deformed made it to that parliament, which must be elected democratically.

Violence Harms the Perpetrator

[DANAS] In order to have a freely elected parliament, we must also have a free election campaign. In light of this, how do you regard the disruption and incident at the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] meeting in Benkovac?

[Raskovic] The incident at Benkovac in and of itself is pointless and absurd. In the first place, this was a clash between rabble-rousing groups, with much more serious implications than simply their contact and verbal showdown. The implications can be seen today as well, and are much more profound. Nor is this any longer simply a clash between rabble-rousing groups, because on neither side of the issue do these groups represent the people; rather, the clash has now been shifted over to the people, the result being not simply misunderstandings, but rather clashes among the people, at least psychologically. Both Serbs and Croats in this region feel threatened right now, both groups are openly developing not only distrust, but also paranoia. When I look at the overall situation, the nightly vigils, the continual calls to the police because there are armed people sneaking around town, but when the police arrive these people are nowhere to be found—then this is much more serious than a clash between rabble-rousers. Because to my party, the party of freedom, it is normal that we regard freedom as the highest rung on the scale of social values, while violence is the lowest value or evil; every incident of violence in fact threatens freedom first and foremost, and most of all the freedom of the person perpetrating the violence, much more than the person subjected to it. Because this attack on a person—Tudjman, in the concrete case—represents an act of nonfreedom, regardless of who clashed with Tudjman and how.

[DANAS] What could be the aim of such an attack?

[Raskovic] It is not possible to assess accurately what sort of assassination attempt this was, what the intention was, it is the judicial organs that must assess the dimensions and, ultimately, the orchestration of events. I am not going into what sort of events they were and am not claiming that the events were orchestrated, but with these so-called assassinations on leaders it has been proven historically that orchestration is possible from all sides, from enemies, friends, from whichever side you please, and it need not be Serbian, nor Croatian. We must wait for these matters to be investigated, but in and of itself what happened is very ugly.

[DANAS] Will your party react by protesting this violence?

[Raskovic] I received instructions to put that in writing, with a condemnation of violence, because it is all opposed to freedom, especially that which happens in an explicitly politicized atmosphere. Secondly, violence in a pragmatic political sense is always politically advantageous to the victim and politically detrimental to the perpetrator. Thirdly, and directly connected to the situation in Benkovac, about which too much is being said, I think, there is the fact of the existence of this party and its leader who, in some early proclamations, even though they have been retracted, suggested and stated that the NDH [Independent State of Croatia, during the Second World War] was an expression of the age-old aspiration of the Croatian people. It is my profound conviction that the NDH was a state of bestial spirituality, a state of criminal and genocidal aggression. Anyone who regards such a state as the aspiration of a people first of all offends and degrades the people to whom that state, in my earnest judgment, belonged only in a formal sense. If I, or any other Serbian intellectual said that, we would probably be declared monsters who are accusing the entire Croatian people of genocide. But it has a completely different connotation when the leader who proclaimed it arrives in a Serbian area, because the Serbian population remembers such a proclamation as a historical call to recidivism. Thus, one paranoid-aggressive thought evokes paranoid responses. The arrival of a person who preaches and offers state aggression cannot count on affirmative responses from people whose memory of history need not be long enough that they recall all their trials and unseen tribulations. The reaction was predictable, but despite all this we condemn counteraggression. We understand it, but we do not accept it politically and socially. We hope that the Croatian people in these elections will demonstrate their characteristic human goodness and reject the monstrosity of an aggressively and repressively formed Croatian parliament.

Excluded Outvoting

[DANAS] You said that violence is always politically advantageous to the victim and politically detrimental to the perpetrator. Does this also apply to the Krstanovic case, which elicited stormy reactions from Serbian circles?

[Raskovic] You know what, the dimensions are different; Krstanovic is not the leader of part of the people. I am not saying that Tudjman is the leader of the people, but rather only of part of it, which Krstanovic is not, he is a lyrically educated person, not a political person.

[DANAS] What are the prospects of the SDS in the elections?

[Raskovic] We know that the destiny of the SDS is to be perpetually in the opposition of the Croatian parliament; it would be absurd for a Serbian party to receive a majority of votes from the Croatian people. At this

moment, the SDS is counting much more on a majority of votes in the so-called Serbian communities, where there is a majority Serbian population. We would be satisfied to receive 10 to 15 Serbian communities, to form our small local governments and parliaments in these communities, which will act according to the principles of our party's demands. We think that these communities would be linked in a certain sense. These are the Lika communities, the communities of the Knin frontier, the Benkovac area, the communities of Banija and Kordun, there would be some integral region, not in the sense of a province, but in the sense of a regional policy of the Serbian population, which can communicate on the free market equally with "Geneks" and with "Ineks," without any separate approval by parliament or other parties, without controls. Because of the 22 undeveloped communities, 16 of them are Serbian—Mika Tripalo said this 20 years ago when he was the leader, and accordingly there is no reason not to believe him.

[DANAS] Is that the product of a calculated policy or of the historical legacy and specific circumstances?

[Raskovic] I would like for that to be the product of a calculated policy, since then it would be easier to change.

[DANAS] You said that you expect the SDS to form a government in Benkovac as well. There, as we know, the population is 60 percent Serbian and 40 percent Croatian. How do you manage so that the Croatians do not feel threatened?

[Raskovic] I said that we insist on the freedom of the citizen, the basic principle is the principle of full civil liberties, and this excludes all outvoting on a national basis. Everyone has the right to engage in his own activities, to belong to the party that he wishes, to practice the religion that he chooses, to pursue the course of study that he chooses, to attend school. We will not introduce Serbian schools for Croatian children in these communities; these elementary and high schools will be for Serbs, but at the same time there will be schools for Croats as well. Furthermore, the freedom of thought, orientation, assembly, and public declaration—we will allow all of that which we demand wherever we are in the minority, the freedom of movement and of the choice of one's profession, the freedom to travel abroad and return to this country for all people, all forms of intimacy between people; thus, we acknowledge all that which is some sort of civilized demand.

Dangerous Demonization

[DANAS] You support the freedom for all to return to this country. Does this also mean those who have been qualified as political emigrants, and does this mean that you are not against "incidents" at the airport in Zagreb when visas are issued to those who have arrived for the HDZ congress?

[Raskovic] Anyone who wants to return to this country should return, but we are against a violent return, which is how that incident in Zagreb could be qualified. I don't

want to politicize here; this means that we are in favor of allowing those who have left the country to return. What is decisive here is the law, not us.

[DANAS] Is a coalition between your party and someone else possible?

[Raskovic] I look at that on many levels. There is the possibility of dialogue, negotiations, partnerships, and alliances among parties. We are in favor of dialogue with everyone, even with the HDZ, be it public or in secret, as you will. We are for negotiations with those who have a less repressive policy. For example, I would engage in negotiations with the Coalition, although I think that it is not a fortunate solution, partnership would be possible with communists and socialists, and an alliance would be possible with the Yugoslav Independent Democratic Party.

[DANAS] You would not be in an alliance with the League of Communists?

[Raskovic] If it renounced Bolshevism.

[DANAS] And is Milosevic a Bolshevik?

[Raskovic] Don't ask me that, because that's the same thing as asking whether Tadjman is an Ustasha.

[DANAS] What is the actual position of you and your party toward Milosevic and the policy that he represents and symbolizes?

[Raskovic] Milosevic is a person about whom no one is indifferent—one ethnic group surrounds him with love, respect, and esteem, while another simply demonizes him. It cannot be denied that there has been demonization of Milosevic in our areas of Yugoslavia. However, a large part of the Serbian people identify with Milosevic, and take his demonization as a demonization of their national essence, and that demonization of a people is much more dangerous than the demonization of one person, Milosevic. Otherwise, something specific happened in Serbia: the Eighth Session was not a settlement with any liberal or democratic line in the Serbian party, it was a settlement with a Bolshevik group, carried out by another Bolshevik group; the only thing is that that settlement was carried out in an area that brought national glory to that Bolshevik group, in Kosovo. The Yugoslav Bolshevik system "rewarded" Serbia with three states in its territory, which is very absurd, and it is unprecedented in history that someone will allow, without outside force, bloodshed, and arms, its territory to be ceded to another state, in concrete terms to another Albanian state in the Balkans. The victory of this group, albeit a Bolshevik one, reestablished a special attitude toward it as far as the Serbian people are concerned, which is an attitude of a return of faith and hope in the resolution of the Serbian problem.

Like all Bolshevik groups, however, including this one, it could not achieve great success in restoring freedom. In a psychological sense, Milosevic returned faith and hope to the Serbian people, but he did not restore freedom.

De-Bolshevization has yet to be carried out, it is progressing much more slowly than in Slovenia or Croatia, but I am certain that the process of de-Bolshevization will take hold in Serbia. It is under special strain from the burden of Kosovo, and that burden makes it impossible for it to move any faster toward democracy. All those who think that the weight should be shifted to the problems of Kosovo are slowing down the democratization of Serbia. Kosovo separatists are demanding that which they cannot be given, they are demanding a state in the territory of another state. They can get that only through bloodshed or an ideology that would represent some sort of false awareness and false national feeling by the Serbia people.

Neither Faculties nor Academies

[DANAS] You said that no one will give up territory from his state to form another state without outside force, bloodshed, and arms. Could the Croatian people perceive the creation, as you said, of geographic autonomy for Serbs in Croatia as the first step toward the detachment of that region from the Croatian state?

[Raskovic] Croats should not perceive it in that way, we will not demand any sort of state, we only want in Croatia what Hungarians in Serbia have, nothing more. We do not even demand what Albanians in Serbia have, we do not even conceive of demanding our own faculties and academies of science. However, we do conceive of having our own cultural institutions, our own publishing houses, our press, and our schools.

[DANAS] Would that mean that the reasons for emphasizing the threat to Serbs no longer existed?

[Raskovic] The threat to Serbs is not only in that institutional sense, there is also a psychological perception, which is currently being renewed in many parties in Croatia, and that perception is that Serbs are a disruptive factor in the restoration of the Croatian national essence. This is an old idea, and it amazes me that there is no evolution in latter-day Croatian politics, that they are returning to Starcevic, who established that system of Serbs as a disruptive factor and the negation of Serbs, and now that syntagm of Orthodox Croats or Croatian Serbs is being used, which is essentially a negation of the existence of Serbs in these regions. These are Croato-centric parties, which depend on an old Croatianist policy that has definitively survived.

[DANAS] But your party too is called "Serbian."

[Raskovic] Our party is Serbian and it is ethnic, but in terms of its principles and views it is modern; it proclaims the freedom of the citizen and, most importantly, it regards the freedom of the Serbian people not through the overriding establishment of some sort of Serbianhood; rather, its national essence is profoundly linked to the principles of general freedom. This is why our party is ethnic in name, but ethical in content.

[DANAS] You emphasize that there is a special attitude by your party—or rather, by Serbs—toward Yugoslavia and Yugoslavhood?

[Raskovic] For this point, you have to start with the fact that the Serbian people have a completely different attitude toward Yugoslavia than others do. There is an identification of Serbianhood with Yugoslavhood, which makes it more difficult to identify with any other ethnic group, including with Croatianhood. Since Yugoslavhood is linked to the Yugoslav state and Croatianhood with the Croatian state even though Serbs live in the Croatian state, they are psychologically threatened in the Yugoslav state. What emerges here now is a multilayered problem of interpolating the Croatian state and accordingly putting Croatianhood into an integral psychological categorization, because statehood for the Serbs is identified with an ethnic feeling as far as Yugoslavia is concerned. An ethnic orientation toward Croatia complicates precisely that ethnic orientation toward Yugoslavia. This dual orientation among Serbs is manifested as some potential loss of identity.

Frustration of Serbs and Croats

[DANAS] In your opinion this means that Serbs are more Yugoslav than others?

[Raskovic] The Serb is at the same time a Yugoslav, and consequently a member of the Yugoslav state, while according to the ethnic principle he cannot be a Croat at the same time, and this ethnic principle complicates the attitude of Serbs toward the Croatian state. If there were not this Serb-Yugoslav alloy, then it would be much easier in a psychological and spatial sense to accept the Croatian state and all the Croatian symbols, at least to the same extent that the Yugoslav state and Yugoslav symbols are accepted. This disruptive psychological factor is a strain on the Serbian, but also on the Croatian people, who cannot fathom why Serbs who have been living in the Croatian state for 50 years do not ardently accept it. The Croatian people should understand this.

[DANAS] Don't you think that Serbs in Croatia should understand that Croats demand respect for their integrity, for their flag and national anthem, for their distinctive characteristics, that they are offended by what happens at Petrova Gora or, while the national anthem is being played, in Benkovac?

[Raskovic] It is necessary to change the consciousness of the Serbian people, and a greater role could be played here by a modern, democratic, and free Croatia; a free Croatia is the condition for finding a resolution for the psychological frustration of both the Croatian and Serbian people, and what is more essential, for the reciprocal frustration of Serbs and Croats.

[DANAS] In your theory of different characterologies, you have said about Serbs that they are oedipal in character and that they show complete obedience to authority, but that there is also another part that in certain situations transforms this authoritarianism into a

destructive state of rebellion, when all the exponents of power and satisfaction are swept away.

[Raskovic] That is typical of the Serbian people.

[DANAS] Could then the, as you called it, "ardent nonacceptance" and frustration of Serbs toward the Croatian state result—or has it already resulted?—in obedience to authorities outside Croatia, as well as another destructive state of rebellion toward the exponents of power in Croatia?

[Raskovic] These are mere constructions, and what I said is a psychological truth that cannot be used to interpret details in everyday politics. Theoretical psychology does not deal with minutiae. Besides, Serbs kill all their own leaders, kings, and czars, to say nothing about what all they have done with their regional leaders when they repudiated them.

Kertes on 'Kosmet,' Political, Ethnic Issues

90BA0031A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian
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[Interview with Mihalj Kertes, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, by Barjakterevic; place and date not given: "Who Is Going To Be Scrapped?"]

[Text] After the Romanian revolution, some theorists in the mass media were quick to draw the conclusion that the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime was carried out thanks above all to television and that this was the first revolution directed from a TV studio, opening up a new era. This is only partially true, since the first television revolution was carried out in Serbia, at the now legendary eighth meeting. And even after that television would be a motor for setting the people in motion in Serbia. Television would also show better than anyone ever had before what Yugoslavia is, what it is like, and who is plotting against it. Without instructions to the participants, without setting the stage, without embellishment. The coverage of the marathon sessions of Yugoslav Communists would show what the party had been turned into, that party which "until yesterday" was the glory and pride and savior, and which now, alas, had pushed Yugoslavia into the most troubled abyss. Nothing had driven the bureaucratic despots from our political stage like the public—television, the press, and radio.

Television also "directed" the antibureaucratic revolution in Vojvodina and Montenegro and brought the people of Serbia out into the street....

On 3 October 1988, the Novi Sad news program at 1710 hours was to be the beginning of the end for the obstinate and arrogant autonomy-minded leadership in Vojvodina. Three days later, 50,000 people demonstrated in Backa Palanka as a sign of solidarity with the Serbian people humiliated in Kosmet. The political professionals in that multinational town (23 nationalities) delivered a

lecture that was loud and clear to the provincial bigwigs, referring to them directly, as well as to the so-called Yugoslav politicians. The "upstarts" were led by Mihalj Kertes and Radovan Pankov, who already had a reputation as dissenters from the autonomy-minded top leadership, which, to be sure, had tolerated them, since the provincial powers that be were so certain within themselves that the "disobedient lads" would be useful to them as an ornament of false democracy. From time to time, it would punish them, sometimes even fire blanks at them—leave them alone, let the children play! However, after the solidarity rally, when things began to boil not only in Backa Palanka, but throughout Vojvodina, the Big Chiefs realized that things had gotten serious and decided to give Pankov, Kertes, and the others a whipping. The news program that day announced that the powerful provincial committee was preparing the political removal of the recalcitrants the next day (was it only political?). After the TV news, a hell began which in a few days would burn up those who had wanted to put out the fire in the people with gasoline.

The Putsch in Novi Sad

"That evening Radovan Pankov, Radmila Cvetkovic, and I were speaking to the people in the villages Tovariševo and Obrovac about the amendments to the Serbian Constitution," Mihalj Kertes recalls. "It was all we could do to keep the people from those villages from marching off to Belgrade after that news program. Radovan and Radmila returned to Palanka, and I drove off to Osijek to get medicine for a friend who was ill. It was 0200 hours when I returned to Palanka. There was a crowd in front of the apartment building where I live. That frightened me, since at first I thought someone had died. But when I saw the banners, it was all clear to me: the people had had enough, they had risen up once again, not only against the oppression in Kosmet, but also against the oppression in Vojvodina."

[DUGA] In the morning, you would set out on a pilgrimage that modern history would record as the first successful peacetime popular uprising against the official representatives of a communist regime?

[Kertes] As soon as it became light, all of Palanka set out: "Majevica," "Vunoplet," "Nopal," "Merkur," the printing plant, the "Dunav" Textile Combine in Celarevo, the "Podunavlje" Food Processing Work Organization.... The well-known song "We Will Bring Down the Government in Novi Sad..." was composed on the spot. We started out on foot, but then trucks, buses, and tractors came along and gathered up the people. It was a scene for some future film: we were passing through the country, and a peasant working in a cornfield emerges from a field path and asks us: "Hey, you bad boys, where are you headed?" A worker from "Majevica" told him: "We are going to bring down the government, old man!" The peasant shouted: "Just wait right there!" He dumped a trailer of corn alongside the road, turned the tractor around, and joined the column: "Damn their hides, you're right, of course we'll bring

them down!" There were quite a few such "attachments" along our way to Novi Sad. This is evidence of how much that government and those rulers were hated.

[DUGA] In Novi Sad, you were joined by virtually all of Vojvodina, everyone who could get there by car and bus. It is now one and ½ years since the "government was brought down." What is particularly engraved in your memory from those tumultuous days?

[Kertes] The fair treatment by the police. When we arrived, we asked the police to go away, we said that we ourselves would maintain order. And they did go away. But at 1800 hours and in the evening, when the people's dissatisfaction reached its high point, when there were even injured policemen in that terrifying walking back and forth of people, we realized that we owed them our lives and responsibility for everything that had happened to them. They were also deeply aware of the situation. In the crowd, they had their wives, their children, their brothers, relatives, and friends. Who was a policeman going to fire on? Who was he going to protect and defend? They were no longer protecting the autonomy-minded leadership, which had hidden in a mouse hole in the headquarters of the provincial committee, but rather the enraged populace, which also included some belligerent individuals. But it all ended well. Not a single policeman complained of an injury. They took it in stride in the spirit of the Montenegrin saying: "Congratulations on your wounds, heroes!"

[DUGA] You were almost deceived at that time by Milovan Sogorov, which would not have been the first time?

[Kertes] Sogorov was two-faced: he said one thing and did another. The people turned their backs on him en masse and refused to listen to him. People had had enough of empty speechifying. But on TV, as staged by the autonomy-minded newsmen, this is the way it looked: Sogorov spoke, and one heard the invisible applause of the people. They dubbed in the applause and did not show that the crowd had turned their backs on the speaker. At that point, we were not demanding Sogorov's head, since we thought that he had to behave that way. But when we heard that he had called for the army to deal with the people, it was a good thing that we did not find him! He would have been killed. The crowd would have destroyed him physically. After all, even if the crowd had not been in the right, should 300,000 people suffer because of 15 or 20 hotheads?

The Bridge on the Danube

[DUGA] You often aim your criticism at what you call autonomy-minded newsmen, mentioning them by name. You do not intend to leave them in peace?

[Kertes] I neither overestimate nor underestimate their role in promoting the autonomy-minded policy, which was high treason both against Serbia and against Yugoslavia. Let them stew in their own juice! I am glad to forgive them the troubles and injuries inflicted on me

personally. But for years they servilely served that policy and deceived and seduced Vojvodina's nationalities and ethnic minorities. They set people at odds, they served the people counterfeits, lies, and fabrications. The people were paying them, but it was the politocracy, whom they served devotedly, that was drinking toasts to them. They praised to the skies the criminal adventurers, plunderers, communist noblemen, the Red mafia, of which they had become a part. They gave support to guys like Marcinak and people like him who were calling for acts of fratricide. They were not engaged in journalism, but in politics. No one is so illiterate as not to know what journalism is, that it is not journalism to write from dictation and on order, with someone else's head, the head of Bosko Kronic or someone else. And when I call those guys by name, in public, rather than behind their backs, then their lawyers from the northwest republics reproach me: There goes that Kertes again making a lot of noise and calling for heads to be chopped off. I am not an executioner, I am not calling for heads, but I am merely insisting that the masks be removed. I will always tell a scoundrel that he is a scoundrel. It never occurs to me lie to them, nor to others, nor to myself.

[DUGA] The press in western Yugoslavia does not like you at all. More than once I have read malicious statements like these: Kertes is a sycophant of the Serbian court, the Hungarians have renounced him, what kind of a Hungarian is Kertes when he does not know Hungarian?... Is it true that you do not know Hungarian, your mother tongue?

[Kertes] That is all foolishness. I pay no attention to it anymore, although I admit that it irritated me quite a bit at the beginning. I do know Hungarian. I am no expert, since I have not studied linguistics. I know how to speak just like all Hungarians in Vojvodina. It is true that instruction was in Serbo-Croatian in the school I went to, and I do not see why that should bother Croats and Serbs! I feel myself to be a Yugoslav first and then a Hungarian. If they do not like that, let them try to reeducate me! If only everyone in 1971 had been a Yugoslav first and then a Serb, a Croat, a Slovene, and so on. As far back as I can remember none of my rights have ever been threatened in Serbia. Nor those of the Ruthenians, Romanians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Albanians, and so on. It is only the degenerates of the ethnic minorities who say that their languages have been threatened.

[DUGA] You married a Serb. Did this influence your commitment to fight for a united Serbian state?

[Kertes] I understand why you ask that question, but in Palanka, my town, such questions are considered awkward, unnecessary, not to say rude. In our town, almost every marriage is mixed, and no one thinks anything about it. If you are an adult and have been inoculated against chauvinism, in my region you do not choose your wife because of her nationality, but because you like her, because you love her, because you want to live together! I went off to Croatia and married a Serb. Do you ask

someone what nationality they are before you fall in love! If that is the way it is done anywhere, then it is the most terrible thing there is!

All the nationalities in Palanka, as far back as I can remember, have simply lived in normal neighborly concord. During the first 3 years of my life, up to 1950, we shared a yard with the Visekrunas, who had been resettled from Hercegovina. It did not bother either my father or Sima Visekruna that their children became friends and played together. Even today, after so many years, we are like brothers. Across the way were Germans, they did not bother us. They are still there today. No one drove us nor persuaded us to live like good neighbors. This is presumably a normal thing among people, if they are really honorable people.

Fabrications in DANAS

[DUGA] I heard stories in Palanka about your father. People say: Old Kertes is a fair man, it is a pity he is not a judge.

[Kertes] I am proud of my father. Before the war, he was a tailor in Belgrade, and afterward he opened a tailor's shop in Palanka. An ordinary craftsman, he was not a wholesaler. He taught me that all people are the same and that honor is the most important thing in a man's life. The old man is quiet, he stands aloof from politics, he has been concerned in his life with being a tailor and concern about his family. When we held that famous solidarity rally in Palanka and when I spoke, he stood in the shade of a tree and watched everything and listened to everything. Afterward, I went over to him and asked him: "Well, old man, what did you think of all this?" He said: "Listen, son, if the people boo you, you see that bridge over there on the Danube: you go to it and jump in the river! You must not disappoint the people. After all, they have come here to write a new history!"

[DUGA] A month or two ago certain Croatian newsmen and their collaborators from Novi Sad accused you several times of being an "outstanding activist of the mass movement." You were supposedly a participant in the mass movement, and now you have turned your coat inside out. What is the truth?

[Kertes] According to those who have volunteered to be my biographers, I took part in the mass movement in 1971. Mrs. Tanja Torbarina has especially distinguished herself in writing to that effect. I am not acquainted with that lady: I have never had the honor of meeting her either in Ilok or anywhere else, so that I am very much touched by her effort to penetrate my life. A wise old man once said that people become involved with the biographies of others when they have none of their own in order to make up the deficiencies of their own life by poking about in the lives of others. I can understand people who find their own lives uninteresting and look for interesting heroes to scribble about! I used to feel sorry for them, but now they make me laugh.

But to answer your question. It is true that in 1971 I participated in the mass movement! Along with a group of my contemporaries, I entered a tavern in Ilok where songs of the mass movement were sung and where they were calling for the Serbs to be hung from the willow trees. There was an orchestra there from this side, from Backa. We joined the members of the mass movement in that we asked the orchestra—we were well acquainted—to play two songs which I esteem highly as an expression of a deep heroic, honorable, and honest Serbian tradition: "Oh, Vojvod Sindjelic" and "The Serbian Trumpet Is Heard From Kosovo"! When we began to sing, the members of the mass movement went into shock. I knew that people went to prison for singing those songs even in Serbia, but that ideological stupidity did not frighten me in the least.

[DUGA] Did you have troubles because of that?

[Kertes] There was no conflict in the tavern. We sang our songs and left, and they resumed their own. I was later accused of being a Serbian nationalist, but when the accusers heard that I am a Hungarian, they threw up their hands, it made no sense at all. Simply stated: I am not a nationalist of any kind. Had I been, my father would have slaughtered me. I need no other court, but the court consisting of my family and my father!

[DUGA] Excuse me for insisting on these personal matters, but since you are a public figure about whom much is said and written, I assume that the public would also like to hear the other side of the story.

[Kertes] They have it in for me because I always say what I think and do not wrap my statements in the rhetoric of the old politics. If no one attacks me for two days running, I fall ill!

[DUGA] They should attack you as much as possible to keep you well!

[Kertes] (Laughing) That's right. My day is simply empty if I have not ended up on the point of their pen! I think: there is something wrong with them, perhaps they have fallen ill!

[DUGA] In the last issue of DANAS, Miss Jasna Babic charges you even now with going regularly to Ilok, Vukovar, and so on, to raise up the people in rebellion. She mentions: "...the present vice president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has in-laws in Ilok, on this side of the Danube. Allegedly reliable witnesses say this: A relaxed Mihalj Kertes often stops off at a tavern in Ilok and then, to show off or for enjoyment, always orders the same songs: 'Vojvod Sindjelic' and 'Whoever Says That Is Lying.'..." Now what does that mean?

[Kertes] I have no idea. That weekly magazine is in a deep crisis. Earlier, their inventions were at least witty. And now they are introducing into journalism phrases that are nonsensical: "Allegedly reliable witnesses"! They have ceased to alter my life, now they are altering the Constitution and laws of Serbia by inventing the post

of vice president of the republic! They have promoted me to an office which does not exist. This is a serious crisis, since they have become confused. They no longer know how to think up even a proper lie so as to give me a good honest slap.

[DUGA] The famous satirist Stanislav J. Lec responded to the bromide that newspapers are a window on the world by saying that newspapers provided a very good way of closing that window! You have also been accused of profiting quite well from the "Serbian option," of having received a villa on Dedinje, of having gotten your wife a supervisory position, and so on.

[Kertes] From 1970, when I went to work and when I married, until 1984 I lived in a small two-room apartment. In the latter year, I received from the Palanka Department of the Danube-Tisa-Danube Canal, where I was employed, a two and one-half room apartment, which is quite enough for my wife and me and two children. I have now returned that apartment to the enterprise under one condition: that I get back the same apartment when I go back to Palanka, and until then let someone live in it. My job is waiting for me in the Danube-Tisa-Danube Canal. The apartment is wonderful, I say: an apartment fit for a king, the walls do not weep, there is steam heat, I do not have to chop wood and carry coal up from the cellar, it is super, for me it is like America! My wife worked in "Iteks" in Ilok for more than 14 years. In the commercial department. She traveled from Serbia to a job in Croatia. I asked the people at "Iteks," they represent all nationalities, I know everyone who works there, and they know me, to reach an agreement so that they would give my wife a job at "Centrotekstil" in Belgrade, and let her job wait for her at "Iteks." That is how it was: she does the same job, she is neither a supervisor, nor an officeholder. If the Western press promotes here to an official, I am not sure that her bosses in "Centrotekstil" will do what she says! And it is possible—miracles never cease!—that that press is really building me a villa on Dedinje instead of an apartment; if so, I will immediately give it to the Fishermen's Federation, since I hear that my fellow fishermen are looking for a place!

[DUGA] It is obvious that the leaderships in neighboring republics are afraid of a "people happening," and they are constantly on the lookout for perpetual scapegoats in Serbia.

[Kertes] That's right. They have called us, the people in Serbia, rabble, a mob, all kinds of things. Are they going to call the people, who are undoubtedly going to happen to them, the mob and rabble? In order to save themselves from the rebellion of their own people, they are inciting an irrational fear of Serbia. They are supporting and generating interethnic enmity and intolerance. Their fear of the people is immense, and they will enter into an alliance with the black devil to prevent that from happening, since they know what happens afterward. Racan, Kucan, and the rest, let them come to Serbia, I personally guarantee their security, which they are unable to

guarantee me over there, let them gather those who think like them if they like, they will be safer than in their own home. I am not doing any scheming in either Croatia or Slovenia, I have enough to do in Serbia. But I am glad to hear that the people is raising its head up even there.

Resistance in Serbia

[DUGA] Is everything OK now in Serbia, after the antibureaucratic revolution?

[Kertes] No. The way I personally see it is this: After the eighth meeting, the processes of taking the power away from the old dogmatic-bureaucratic authority went as far as interopstina conferences, and then little or nothing happened from the interopstina conferences toward the opstinas. That is altogether certain. The job I am now doing in the Presidency, above all the contact with the people, entitles me to say that. I spend little time in this office. I am always somewhere "in the field." We will soon be doing a six-month analysis to see in which region and in which opstinas the people are getting the worst bureaucratic abuse. We will go there with television on the spot, with the public, with the facts in our hands, and we will demand resignations. If they refuse, we will recommend to the people that they remove them. You cannot conduct a new policy with the old people.

[DUGA] This is not such a simple matter?

[Kertes] Of course not, but we will go all the way, since the situation is increasingly intolerable. There are all kinds of resistance. People say: Who does this Kertes think he is removing us from power? There are even individuals in the economy who say: Who is this Kertes to be straightening out the situation in Serbia? Kertes per se is no one and nothing, I did not come to straighten out the situation in Serbia! I came to do a decent and responsible job entrusted to me by this Presidency, to which the people elected me and for which they pay me. If everyone in Serbia did an honorable, honest, and responsible job, it would not be where it is today, but would be California. With respect to national wealth, not private profit.

[DUGA] Does that kind of malice bother you in your job?

[Kertes] No, not a bit. It just gets me going. My view is that I receive confidence from the people, and it is only to the people that I have an obligation. But if I must make a mistake, of course, let them remove me on the spot. Instead of being upset, I will say Thank you, you saved me, otherwise I might have messed it up still worse!

[DUGA] What have been your experiences in the "field"?

[Kertes] I have come to know every corner of Serbia. I have gone to every village to which I was invited. Recently, for example, I was in the Rajetic Local Community, which had not been visited since the war even by

an opstina committee member! Those people came here to this office, laid out their problems, and I told them: People, I cannot understand that until I go out into the field. At noon on that particular day, I arrived at 1,240 meters above sea level, you can imagine me, a peasant from the plains, on that mountain, I thought I could grab a cloud with my hand, the opstina leadership also came, we sat down, and we agreed on who was to do what. Both they and we are paid to do what was agreed. What will happen if someone fails goes without saying. No more bureaucratic runaround. If your electrician does not make the repair, he gets no money and "Good-bye, electrician"! You find someone else. If he fails, I guarantee you that the third will not. That is how the bureaucracy has to be treated. "Good-bye, bureaucracy"!

[DUGA] Nevertheless, Kertes, you are an atypical politician?

[Kertes] Not at all. My view is that those before me, before this team, were atypical. Incredible! You see, since I became an adult, over these 20 years, my friends and I, in fact the entire people, have been complaining unceasingly: Who is our deputy, who is our authority! You never knew anyone. You could not meet anyone from the top leadership, almost as though he was a phantom. You did not know how [text missing as published] you know it yourself, they said of Palme, for example: this is a real man, there he goes on foot or in his car, out among the people. Accordingly, how can I be otherwise than what I wanted my deputy and my authority to be like. So that people can tell me everything they are thinking, the best way they know how.

Treating Terrorists With Kid Gloves

[DUGA] Aside from your customary tasks in the Serbian Presidency, you have now been given additional duties related to Kosmet. Are there ways of straightening out the situation in the southern province?

[Kertes] Dr. Miroslav Djordjevic and I have been commissioned by the Serbian Presidency to monitor the activity of government agencies in Kosmet—republic and provincial. But not in the sense of "infallible inspectors" and advisers, but to coordinate, to work ourselves.

Things are going very badly in Kosmet. If anyone thought that this could be resolved overnight, he was wrong. Or he did not wish to know the truth. Things have not been right in Kosmet since 1941. For decades, this was hidden from the people in the broad sense. Yugoslavia and its postwar government created the problem of Kosovo. No one in Yugoslavia can wash his hands of it. It seems that on 20 February the top leadership of Yugoslavia finally realized this. What we have in Kosmet is terrorism of the most sinister kind. Forget about separatism. That is too mild and lukewarm a word.

Kosmet cannot be saved otherwise than by moving people in. First, those who were driven out—to go back where they came from. Then new settlers. Up to the

moment when we are conducting this conversation, over these last few days, more than 4,000 volunteers have come forth who want to go back to Kosmet with their families. There is something very important in that figure: 70 percent of these people who want to live in Kosmet do not come from there! That is the Yugoslav option. There are people from Novo Mesto, Vukovar, Tenje, Osijek, all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, Podravska Slatina, Zagreb, from Montenegro.... What we need in Serbia and Yugoslavia are volunteers in an economic sense—to live and work in Kosmet. Not volunteers with guns. If the government is unable to restore peace and order in Kosmet with all its available means, then that government ought not even to exist!

[DUGA] What if the government is not successful in doing that?

[Kertes] Then we will not be sitting here any longer. Let other people come and let them solve the problems the way they think it should be done. There is no third way. I will be the first to express my gratitude, but I will tell the people the truth: why we failed, who thwarted us, who pretended to do something, and all the rest.

[DUGA] You think that dialogue with the terrorists is no longer possible, that force has to be answered with force?

[Kertes] I do not know if there is anything sillier than telling didactic stories to someone who is doing the worst he can to you. Either flee or answer him with violence. That is how it has always been and always will be. No country in the world coddles its terrorists, and this one of ours is not going to either. If you have chosen terrorism as a way of fighting, then you know in advance what awaits you when the government catches you. Anything but kindness. Accordingly, there is no mercy for terrorists.

[DUGA] OK, but terrorism is not the only problem in Kosmet. There are a multitude of "secondary" ones—for example, the fantastic birthrate which is a serious economic and social problem.

[Kertes] We in Serbia will be adopting laws to keep from encouraging births, that is: if you have too many children you will lose the right to the family supplement even for the first two or three children. Not because we are inhumane or because we want to force family planning on anyone. Incidentally, every government in the world is paying close attention to demographic policy. Our position is this: If someone wants to have children, let them go ahead, but at their own expense, not at state expense. Everyone knows that it is no problem to have a child. What is more, it is not the child's fault for having been born. The parents should be more concerned about humanism than the government. Perhaps you or I would have liked to have 20 children, but not 20 orphans with no future in life.

[DUGA] Is there land in Kosmet for the new settlers?

[Kertes] Our plan is to develop industry in Kosovo and agriculture in Metohija. There will be no problem allocating land to the new settlers. The cooperatives in Metohija are fictitious, for all practical purposes they do not exist. So, the government already has plots of land. Second, what was taken away from the Serbs will be returned. Robbery cannot be the way of the world in a law-governed state.

[DUGA] There is also talk about deporting immigrants and the figure used in that connection is 300,000 people who are not Yugoslav citizens.

[Kertes] We will draw up a complete list of the immigrants and deport them. In other words, the law-governed state must be felt both in Kosmet and also in other parts of Serbia. We want to enter Europe, yet not a single law is being respected. That is ridiculous. If we do not have a law-governed state, we do not qualify even for the Middle Ages!

Tudjman Will Scrap Them

[DUGA] Why, in your opinion, has the problem of Kosmet remained open for such a long time?

[Kertes] Until a year, Serbia hardly even existed as a state. De jure and de facto Kosovo is a Yugoslav problem; the northwestern republics have striven to keep the problem of Kosovo open just so Serbia would be busy with its own affairs. And so that it would be disunited, so that they could extract excess profits from it more easily.

First of all history and then a crafty Yugoslav policy imposed on Serbia the role of always defending itself against someone. It never attacked, it only defended. When it left its state borders, this was to chase away an enemy, and afterward it would come back. The Slovenes forget that....

[DUGA] How do you mean that?

[Kertes] Quite simply, in simple historical terms. If the Slovenes, say, are attacked by the Italians, we must defend them. They themselves do not know how to defend themselves and are unable to do it. But we go, no question about it! We go immediately! No one must lay a hand on Yugoslavia! That is where we differ from the Slovenes.

And that advice of theirs to us in Serbia....I personally have had enough of that advice! And their famous exclusiveness, which sometimes reminds one of the spitefulness of small children under the age of 12. If you don't want to do what I want, we won't play! This is not a game, my friend, these are human destinies, this is a state, this is the Balkans, this is Europe.

They have had some kind of split of their own and they do not know what to do with themselves. Finally, they have always shouted that we get in their way. Although this economic blockade is not in fact a real blockade, they became afraid. If they are so productive, so strong, if they already belong to Europe, as they like to say, why

should they be so afraid of a blockade from "backward" and "Balkan" Serbia! All Europe lies before them, let them try their luck. Of course, there is a place in Europe only for Yugoslavia. Separately, we are all small fish for Europe. They would eat us up before you can say Jack Robinson.

[DUGA] While the Slovenes are courting the Kosovo alternative, the present Croatian leadership is first courting its own and only afterward the alternative in Kosovo....

[Kertes] True. A portion of the Croatian leadership is courting its own alternative, which is against Yugoslavia. And this is all because of official positions, so that they would stay in office in the new balance of power both in Yugoslavia and in their own republic. However, their alternativists will keep them only as long as they have to, and then Tudjman and company will scrap them. They have no chance of surviving. After all, if you are a Communist, then it is clear that the alternative will scrap you.

[DUGA] A confederal option for Yugoslavia is out of the question in your thinking?

[Kertes] My position is that it must be dropped, since confederation is what we have had up to now, and as such it has yielded disastrous results. Who wants a continuation of disaster, endless paralysis? Ask the people. The answer will be: Thank you very much, and God save us from any further misery and ruin. My position is that the people have no particular dilemma about this. Just let all the citizens of Yugoslavia say what they think about the arrangement of Yugoslavia in a referendum. Not the leaderships, but the citizens. I am convinced that out of 22 million inhabitants 20 million will favor a federal Yugoslavia, different and fairer, of course, than the one which up to now, since the war, has vegetated from one crisis to another and finally has taken us where we are now, on the edge of the abyss. Since 1974, since that Constitution, Yugoslavia has been a classic confederation in the worst sense. Let us call it what we like: an atypical confederation, a loose federation, but it is the worst confederation in the world today. Does one have to remind intelligent people of all the stupid things done in this period both in the economy and in politics?

[DUGA] I have the impression that you share the opinion that the multiparty system is the only real challenge for what is today called the League of Communists?

[Kertes] I might say that or something similar. Eliminating the monopoly of the League of Communists is a historic event. Offer a program, go ahead, and let the people choose whose program is better! At this point, however, the multiparty system is not solving all Yugoslavia's problems, as some people think. I am afraid that it will even cause a big headache. That is, if we want Yugoslavia, we have to realize that monoethnic parties cannot bring it happiness. Monoethnic programs are de

facto destroying Yugoslavia. This was demonstrated so clearly last weekend at the General Assembly of Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community that it is superfluous to even comment on it. A party which demands "annexation of Croatia to Europe" is destroying Yugoslavia and calling for a fratricidal Ustasha war. That Catholic priest who appealed for peace and brotherhood between Croats and Serbs in Croatia was all but killed while he was speaking. This is the policy of Mr. Tudjman, Tito's former general. That kind of policy cannot take one into Europe, not even into Europe's madhouses. I fear political converts most of all. It is easier to reach an agreement with a consistent Stalinist like Vlado Dapcevic than with a political convert who changes his skin as often as a proper man changes his shirt!

Fitness on the Trash Heap

[DUGA] After all that has happened to us, however, we will also have to go through those initial children's diseases of democracy—the multiparty commotion, which threatens with anarchy all young democracies, until they get on their feet.

[Kertes] I only hope that they are diseases which can be called the children's diseases of democracy. However, in actuality there are various pathologies no more [as published—"less" is presumably meant] dangerous than what we experienced with quasi-communism, Stalinism, the personality cult, and the red bourgeoisie. And the organism of this tormented and plundered state might be attacked by two diseases in succession! I have read somewhere that in some democracies you cannot become the leader of a party without obtaining a favorable opinion from a neuropsychiatrist. If this were adopted in our country, various maniacs, mental patients, and "rabble" in power would be exposed.

[DUGA] Are the existing courts competent enough to register the new parties?

[Kertes] This can only be done by the courts, provided they are independent and free of all the organizations—beginning with the Fishermen's Federation and all the way to the Communist Party. It is a good thing that it is not in the jurisdiction of the police, since it is the job of the police to preserve the achievements of democracy, not to make the hat which democracy must wear.

[DUGA] There are many examples in the past of the highest bodies of government and the party interfering with the work of the courts in the most direct way. Does the Serbian Presidency interfere with the work of the courts?

[Kertes] Yes, but only through one channel. On the basis of grievances and petitions of citizens, we, as the highest body of government, let court cases be decided independently. We do not interfere in the way the courts decide a particular case, that is a matter of professional expertise and sovereignty. However, court cases cannot drag on for years, the courts must decide them within the

period allowed by the law. Otherwise, citizens lose confidence not only in the courts, but in law, justice, and the entire government.

[DUGA] You have eliminated that inglorious "criterion" of moral and political fitness.

[Kertes] It was a monstrous "criterion." The abuses were legion. You reproach me when I am in power, and I put a stamp on your forehead saying that from the moral and political standpoint you are a person with the plague. That was a disgusting game: the government had a discretionary right to label people without anyone having to explain why a person was unfit. To say that this was a privatization and usurpation of power does not go far enough. It is a great thing that that "criterion" has been thrown on the trash heap. As a judge, for example, you can be what you like in a religious or ideological sense, but you must serve the law and the people, since it is in that name that you render judgment.

The Bitter Sugar Mills

[DUGA] Let us go back to Backa, to Vojvodina, to northern Serbia. You worked there for a long time as a social worker between the jaws of the autonomy-minded policy. How is it that there is poverty in Vojvodina's abundance, how is it that agriculture is going to ruin?

[Kertes] Vojvodina's abundance has been reduced to a hypothesis. The ugliest policy has been conducted in agriculture. They have skinned the peasant with taxes, he has no security in old age, and now the peasant's pension is less than welfare in the cities. Then there was that stupid "let us all go to the city, into industry," so that you got a man in the city who was not a worker and you did not have a peasant in agriculture. We have a terrible situation in Vojvodina. But actually not just there, but throughout Yugoslavia.

And then certain Communists came along who plundered everything in sight. They did not plunder just the peasant, but in fact the country. And then those unhappy cooperative arrangements which robbed the peasants through interest and in every other way.

[DUGA] Is the Danube-Tisa-Danube System also seen as a failure?

[Kertes] Nikola Mirkov, the creator of that hydrosystem, had a superidea, but for the present, the entire thing has fallen through. It was done superbly for drainage, but virtually nothing for irrigation! What more can I tell you? Even now, we have on the one hand all those prerequisites—everything that God gave us, and that hydrosystem which we have built, while on the other hand we have an ugly policy, and to top it all off, the autonomy-minded leaders who developed a police system on an unprecedented scale. They were tied up with the Slovenian leadership, and we sold our products to the Slovenes, and they set the prices for us! There are no problems for that clique, they have solved the problems of their grandchildren and great grandchildren.

[DUGA] There have also been large failures in Vojvodina's industry?

[Kertes] Industry in Vojvodina has been living out a miserable existence. Nikola Kmezcic, prime minister in the autonomy-minded government, and Stevan Bek, his deputy, who was "our" man from Backa Palanka, ours unfortunately, made such a mess of those five sugar mills that the whole world was laughing at us at that time. Those stupidities went so far that it is no wonder that it got under people's skin, and they were actually ready to execute them. I tell you, they made fools of us all. They squeezed the peasant dry. They lived in the lap of luxury, they were accountable to no one, and they kept muttering about some kind of social justice, sacrifice, a bright future, and other nebulous things of that kind.

[DUGA] Did the popular revolution in Vojvodina, which certain malicious wags called the yogurt revolution, cut the ground out from under all of the so-called autonomy-minded leaders?

[Kertes] When malicious tongues use the phrase yogurt revolution, and at the same time defend autonomy-minded leaders, they are involuntarily making fun of the autonomy-minded leaders, not us. After all, I abhor a government which puts its tail between its legs because a few cartons of buttermilk have burst! That's right, they shit their pants over a few cartons of buttermilk—and that tells you what they were really like. So when the malicious tongues use that phrase, they themselves are showing their fear of a "yogurt revolution" in their own backyard. I am certain that they too would shit their pants and would run for their lives if a carton of buttermilk were thrown in their direction!

But to answer your question. All the autonomy-minded leaders have not been driven into a rat hole where they belong. There are still some waiting in ambush.

[DUGA] For example?

[Kertes] Stevan Jeremic, manager of the sugar mill in Pecinci, is now attacking me because I am not a sugar expert! Or one from Bac who runs an elementary school, "salty," nothing to do with sugar. Those two have been attacking me in BORBA through Mr. Rakas, saying that I do not know what I am talking about when I speak about the overproduction of sugar mills (not of sugar!), and I have a study here in my safe from Crvenka which the institutes did at that time. To make the tragedy still worse, who knows what kind of technology they bought, since for a long time the sugar they produced was yellow! That Jeremic is attacking me, saying that they are well-off, that they have high salaries. That is true. I did not say that they had low salaries. But how did they get them? They produce sugar and sell it for commodity reserves, they take the money and they collect interest. It has gone on for years. And Jeremic is obstinately autonomy-minded. He divides the village into camps. He sows dissension. And the very next village is Prhovo, which is Bosko Krunic's base. And the one after that, Donji Tovarnik, is the base of Ilija Radakovic, education

minister in the autonomy-minded government; in the next village, Ogar, his brother is today the secretary of the party, and then you can see it all clearly: rural neighbors nicely shared the power over all of Vojvodina.

[DUGA] That is not the end of the list—Subotica? Kovin?

[Kertes] Are you thinking of the nitrogen plant in Subotica? Better that we not talk about that! And the dumbest thing of all is that the autonomy-minded leaders in Kovin bought a machine to mine coal under the Danube! They had Kovin in mourning. Couldn't they have reached an agreement with Serbia, with Bosnia, with others who have coal on an income-sharing basis, instead of digging under the Danube? I wouldn't be surprised if they hired divers to mine that coal!

The Departure of the Dairy Cow

[DUGA] What actually was the ultimate objective of the autonomy-minded Vojvodina leaders?

[Kertes] The autonomy-minded leaders created a state within a state. They are no more to blame than those who created that monstrous confederal system and the anti-Serb forces in Yugoslavia. It is a pattern everywhere in the world that a substate—like Vojvodina and Kosovo—shows a tendency to become a state. The mad, but also crafty idea was to incapacitate Serbia as a state in Yugoslavia and reduce it to the Belgrade pashaluk. Like every lie and deception, of course, that could last for a time, but not always by any means. So, by creating a substate within the state of Serbia, the creators of the system found mercenaries, lackeys, and attendants who would do the job. These people were paid like Croesus; everything was permitted them, no one monitored anything they did except governmentalizing the province as much as possible. We truly cannot even calculate how much they stole, how many things they ruined. Their accomplices in the northwest were very sorry when they shit their pants and left the throne. What they really missed was that excess profit which they had extracted from a captive people which for a time had been seduced. Behind the rhetoric about how severe we were in dealing with the autonomy-minded leaders is hidden that regret—they no longer have Vojvodina as a dairy cow.

[DUGA] Could that showdown with the autonomy-minded leaders be called an elimination of people, which is the story served up by the northwestern press?

[Kertes] In any law-governed country, in proud, democratic, civilized, and so forth, Europe those people would be tried for several reasons. In Vojvodina, however, no one was tried nor convicted except a group of notorious criminals whose trials are going on now. Accordingly, no people were eliminated, nor will they be. Anyone who enters politics must reconcile himself to leaving it. Our critics in the northwest resented that we did not bid farewell to "our" autonomy-minded wreckers with red carnations, champagne, feasts, ceremony, and music.

They can have them, they did more for them than for their own people, so let them bid them farewell any way they please. I see that they were in a great hurry to find jobs for some so that they would continue to spit on Serbia and inform on the leadership, but the autonomy-minded leaders who have been bought seem not to know that their Maecenases will get rid of them just as they bought them—as quick as they can!

[DUGA] Are most of the autonomy-minded leaders Serbs?

[Kertes] They are not Serbs, but traitors to the Serbian people. There are degenerates in every people. Including my own.

[DUGA] You come from a farming area. Is it possible to correct all the mistakes that have been made in that sector of the economy?

[Kertes] So many stupid things have been done in agriculture in recent decades that I sometimes wonder where they found so many bunglers to mess it all up. The status of the private farmer has to be dealt with in legislation all over again, since there can be no rich state without a rich peasant. The position of the peasant was better in the time of the Turks than it is today. We have put the peasants in a position where they encounter extreme poverty and desperation when they become old. The state of Serbia has undertaken major measures in agriculture. We will guarantee the price of wheat before planting begins so that the peasant knows exactly what he can count on. Love for love, sireto za pare, as the Bulgarians say. We intend to abolish interest on seed, and so forth. And within animal husbandry everyone who has a cow will get another one and will get sows. Since the peasant has become accustomed to find a way of surviving, we must behave differently in order to restore confidence: the livestock goes in the freight car, the money is on the scale.

[DUGA] On three occasions, Kardelj caused rural areas and agriculture to mourn, and no one did anything about it! After his reforms, the peasant ceased to believe in the state of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia....

[Kertes] Kardelj was what we call a theoretician. I realized long ago, as have others, that he was conducting experiments with us, just as you run experiments with white rabbits in a laboratory—it may turn out this way, it may turn out that way. Maybe requisitions will work, maybe not. Maybe cooperatives will work, maybe not. And so on. But it is not honorable to blame it all on Kardelj. He had many collaborators who were writing theories and concepts. What is so distressing today is the result of their effort. As though they intentionally wrecked all the prerequisites for things to go well with us, and it can be proven that they did. You know what our peasant is like, he has learned to suffer, he knows perfectly well that God, the government, this one and that one, are making a fool of him, so when he raises his hook and his hoe against the government, you know that he has been touched to the quick. Everyone has robbed

him and abused him, tricked him, and scorned him. They have driven him off the land and shoved him into industry. They spread quasi-communist slogans about how every peasant is a potential kulak as compared to the industrial worker, and so on. And now you have to restore his faith in the government just as you have to return an army of poverty from the cities, from a ruined industry, back to rural areas to engage in tilling the land and raising livestock. There is a great opportunity for a better life in that effort, but no one listens any longer to stories about that, since people have had enough stories, and they want bread to eat. So the government has to make real moves, not just verbal ones; put simply: it has to pay the price and open the treasury. Intelligent people know that this is the best investment and that this is where capital turns over the fastest.

[DUGA] The government did not only drive the peasant away from itself, it also drove him away from God. Why, in your opinion, did the Communists in power squeeze and then even ban Orthodoxy?

[Kertes] Why? That is a hard question for me to answer, since really anyone who thinks about it honestly will be unable to answer it. There are no grounds, nor were there any, for persecuting Orthodoxy. However, although I am a Hungarian, and not, therefore, a Serb, it has long been clear to me that after the war everything was done so that Serbia would be weak, so that Orthodoxy would be weak. Just look at one tiny detail: the sajaka is a part of the peasant costume, but a decade ago when someone wore it, in the Belgrade pashaluk, he went to jail. Serbia and the Serbian people were intentionally portrayed as a kind of evil so that others would be frightened. I do not say that from the standpoint of Vojvodina, but in a broader context. Degenerates of the Serbian people put Serbia and the Serbs in that situation. Not the other nationalities and ethnic minorities, but Serbian degenerates. Serbs even sold off Kosovo, since they caved in to other influences because of their personal conformism. After all, had they been honest, they would not have allowed that.

[DUGA] Who for lord's sake can be bothered by a sajaka or any other cap?

[Kertes] There is something else that horrifies me today as we free ourselves of dogmas, illusions, stupidities, and ideological nightmares: How was it ever possible for them to hold us in the chains of such stupidities? Fine, we know the answers at the level of theory. We know that half the world was in those chains. But I am mainly interested in that answer at the human level, since when this has happened to us once, there is some reason to fear that it could happen again, perhaps not to us, but to some other generation. What are people made of when they consent to so many stupidities? Why did such large numbers of people enjoy that deception and nightmare? As I was watching Tudjman's assembly on TV, I wondered: What is this, why are people consenting once again to be white rabbits in a game of which they will surely be ashamed sooner or later?

As far as your sajaka or Montenegrin cap is concerned, it does not bother me in the least, just as I believe that you are not bothered by my Hungarian costume, which has a great and honorable tradition, just like yours does. What does bother me is if you put on the sajaka to offend my nationality or any other nationality in the world. Then, I do not care about your sajaka at all, although the problem is not with it, but with you.

As far as religion is concerned, the Serbian people are going back to their religion, that is quite natural. Just so things stay within the confines of the church, not politics. Had it not been for the church, you Serbs would not have existed. After all, it is in the church that Serbia's poetry and history was maintained. Go anywhere in the world, to Saint Andrews in Hungary, where six churches were built in 8 years, or to America, Romania, Australia, wherever Serbs have settled. So, as it would be put in administrative language, no religion bothers a wise government if it concerns itself with matters within its competence. It is normal for the church to bring people together, so let it do so, there is nothing dishonorable in that. Older people say: I cannot do that, I am afraid of God! If you are a normal and honest man, it will not occur to you to dissuade him. I am anyway suspicious of guys who claim to change the world by changing all the people in it! It is much more practical to change yourself!

[DUGA] That opinion of yours is not typical of Communists!

[Kertes] Why should Communists be typical, uniform, like peas in a pod? I am suspicious of Communists like that. I am a Communist, but I long ago separated those things in my head. The secular is one thing and the spiritual another. I do not believe in God, but I respect anyone who does believe in God. If you invite me to your saint's day celebration, the only thing that will keep me from coming is that I have to work! Only a primitive quasi-communist training can make a wide gap between believers and nonbelievers. Every honest man will respect you if you respect him. Accordingly, no religion should be a reason for people not to be good friends, neighbors, and partners in effort, and I do not believe that any is.

Milosevic's "Overcoat"

[DUGA] Is it possible to break up the unity that exists today in the Serbian leadership?

[Kertes] That old tactic of breaking up the unity of the leadership doesn't work in Serbia anymore. I assure you that the present unity of the leadership in Serbia is on a high level. That bothers the coalition. That is why they are constantly throwing bones among us in order to break up that unity. Actually, that is boosting our rating with the people beyond what we deserve. I am speaking for myself!

[DUGA] Could you comment on what is happening now in Belgrade between the party and the Socialist Alliance?

[Kertes] I have not been in Belgrade long enough to know precisely what is involved. I esteemed and respected those people, but, and I say this most sincerely, I do not know the genesis of those disagreements. Nor did it interest me greatly, nor did I manage to learn what it was about. I know only that there are no victors here, that this is not a good thing, regardless of who is right and who is not. Issues like that are resolved through dialogue, not by breaking down someone. I know that many people will lick their chops at this "skirmish" and that the press belonging to the coalition will have something with which to entertain their public.

[DUGA] Now that you have mentioned the press, I must mention BORBA. It is said, that is, that you forced Milan Rakas, director of BORBA, to submit his resignation.

[Kertes] If I removed Rakas by having said what I think about him and about BORBA, then more power to me! However, I did not remove him, he removed himself. He fled, since he saw that the ship he was steering was sinking, he realized (finally!) that he was no longer up to that job, and he only used my trifle as an alibi for his own real helplessness. If there are people who believe that I drove him out, then right here and now I invite him to come back and I make a public promise that I will never mention him again, even though he does everything that he has done up to now!

[DUGA] Let us suppose that the party in Serbia does not reform to the extent that Communists themselves expect. Would you continue to be a member of it?

[Kertes] No, I would not continue to be a member of it. But today I do not operate on that premise, since I am firmly convinced that it will reform. It has a program, it will have a still better one, and it will come out on an equal footing with others in the competition. I will work for that program and fight so that it produces results. If I am not successful, I will seek to be expelled from the party. At the same time, we owe a great deal to this party, the Communist Party in Serbia, since it has ties with the people ever since the eighth meeting. It is difficult for me to utter the phrase League of Communists, this is the Communist Party of Serbia, it brought Serbia and its nationalities the Constitution, the program for political and economic reform, it has committed itself to a multiparty system, it has renounced monopoly. Only people of bad faith do not respect those facts.

[DUGA] There are those who think, especially in the northwestern press, that all of you in the Serbian Presidency, especially you in particular, are people who operate out of Milosevic's overcoat and that you do as he dictates. Is that true?

[Kertes] Those are primitive allusions. Everyone uses his own head. We have many reasons for esteeming Milosevic, I in particular. He has never lied. He is in tune with the people and they with him. The people have confidence in him, and I have even more. When he said

that emergency powers could not be instituted in Vojvodina and repression applied to the people so long as he is what he is, this cannot be seen otherwise than as political and human decency of the highest kind. Informed people are not unaware that the entire Serbian leadership, led by Milosevic, was ready to go to Novi Sad on 6 October 1988 and to die there with us. And that not because we were fighting for their ideals, but because they judged that we are honest and honorable people. Put most succinctly, however much it might sound like pathos in this Yugoslavia, already so full of pathos: my family and I, and others as well, owe Milosevic our lives. And the family of Radovan Pankov, and all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. The autonomy-minded leaders had already prepared a slaughterhouse for us in order to save their asses, exactly the same as Ceausescu did in Romania. As far as that is concerned, it is an honor for me to work with Milosevic. However, that does not mean at all that I agree with him on all things. More than once in meetings of the Presidency I have had the opposite opinion from Milosevic and he the opposite one from me, but whatever we agree on as the position of the Presidency, then that is binding as a task on all of us, the president first of all. It is quite certain that I would not allow myself to be his ward, nor would he as a person allow himself a relationship in which I or anyone else figured so little.

[DUGA] This Presidency seems to reflect the ethnic situation in Serbia.

[Kertes] That resulted from the people's vote. In the Serbian Presidency, there are only three Serbs, and four are not Serbs. This was chosen by the people, not by Milosevic. He could have said: I want Kertes, but if the people do not want Kertes, then never mind. There is maximum synchronization in the Presidency, since everyone is doing his job. Every Monday, I report on my area. I did not need anyone's consent to this interview, nor was any pressure brought to bear as to what I would say.

Implications of High Birthrate of Kosovo Albanians

90BA0094A Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian
17 Apr 90 pp 20-21

[Interview with demographer Dragana Avramov by Slavisa Sasic; place and date not given: "Long-Term Population Policy"]

[Text] At the General Conference of the International Union for Scientific Population Research, which was held last September in India's capital, New Delhi, particular attention was paid to a paper by young Yugoslav sociologist and demographer Dragana Avramov, the head of the Center for Demographic Studies at Belgrade University's Institute for the Social Sciences. Dragana's presentation on current demographic population problems in the SFRY was the reason for her appointment as

a member of the Union's Council, which has 20 members, and was the occasion for our conversation with her. The above-mentioned international organization, by the way, is a professional association with 1,800 members. Membership in the association is on an individual basis (not institutionalized), i.e., it is not associated with the country a scholar is from, but rather with the individual's professional activity.

[STUDENT] Since you are the head of the only institution in Yugoslavia that deals with systematic population research, we assume that you are sufficiently competent to tell us what the demographic map of the world will look like in the middle of the next century?

[Avramov] According to the UN's projections, the world population should double. More precisely, the globe will have about 10 billion inhabitants. After that it is expected that the growth will be stabilized. The most interesting thing in that whole process of world population growth is the explosion in the Third World countries. It is precisely in the poorest countries that 90 percent of the future population growth will take place. Along with that explosion, a completely new phenomenon is occurring—the abrupt and very significant decline in the birthrate that began in Europe sometime around the middle of the 1960's, so that as early as the 1980's, only three European countries (Poland, Ireland, and Albania) had birthrate levels that would ensure long-term renewal of the population. That means that two population problems are coexisting in the world—on one hand very rapid growth, and on the other, a decline in population.

[STUDENT] That means that the number of Europeans will be reduced.

[Avramov] It is quite realistic to expect that that will happen. For the time being, the population of Austria and Denmark is declining, but if the present fertility trends continue, the process of population decline will also affect other European countries.

[STUDENT] What will Yugoslavia's position be on that new demographic map, in view of the fact that there is a "baby boom" in some areas here, and in others a "baby bust"?

[Avramov] Yugoslavia is unique, since it is confronted by two population problems. On one hand, the birthrate has declined below the level needed to maintain a constant population (in Serbia proper, Vojvodina, Croatia, and Slovenia), while at the same time a population explosion is in full swing in Kosovo and Metohija. Everything indicates that in the decades ahead as well, that sort of demographic future has already been determined to a great extent, both by the high birthrate that has been continuing in Kosovo and Metohija for four decades now, on one hand, and on the other, by the unfavorable age structure in the areas where the birthrate is declining.

[STUDENT] What is the age structure of Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija like?

[Avramov] Half of the population of Kosovo and Metohija is under age. These are the generations that will enter the labor market. They are the women who will be giving birth for the next 20 years or so. Kosovo represents the last oasis of a high birthrate in Europe. The Albanian population in Kosovo differs from the rest of the Yugoslav populations on the issue of the birthrate. It is much closer to the birthrate in Albania.

[STUDENT] How do you interpret the fact that the birthrate is 4.2 in Kosovo and Metohija, and 3.2 in Albania? Is the difference due to the influence of nationalism, separatism, and Islamic fundamentalism?

Settlement by "Overflow"

[Avramov] There is probably some of what you have cited, but I would not take such a reductionist approach toward it. It is an undeniable fact that in Albania all religious institutions, which would encourage more childbirth, have been abolished, and that Albanian women in Albania are more involved in public life. On the other hand, the growth of education in Kosovo and Metohija, like its overall development, after all, aroused the desire for a cultural identity, which was sought in ethical principles associated with traditional Albanian society.

[STUDENT] Do you think that the "Canon of Leka Dukadjini" also influenced such an attitude toward having children? For example, according to his interpretation, a woman is only a "pouch for giving birth."

[Avramov] Of course. For the last few decades, the Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija has been more oriented toward its historical roots than looking toward the future for the last few decades. We will find the roots of that value system in the Canon of Leka Dukadjini, which defines the place and role of woman in society, especially since he reduces her role exclusively to maternity, with the woman, furthermore, having absolutely no rights in the household. She does not have a right to her own sons, and does not have the right to inherit. Albanian women in Kosovo give birth to a large number of children precisely because they are deprived of their rights, and precisely because they do not have the possibility of choice. Those women are really in jeopardy. They perceive the need for family planning, but society has not offered them the elementary institutional framework and assistance. I am surprised that feminist circles have still not initiated any action to break up a cultural model that is profoundly inhumane.

[STUDENT] In 1938, there were 126,000 Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija, and in 1948, 265,000, according to the censuses then. According to unofficial estimates, there are now about 2 million of them. Can we consider such a population increase to be only a consequence of a high birthrate, or as a consequence of an uncontrolled influx from Albania?

[Avramov] The fact is that for the last few decades the birthrate in Kosovo and Metohija has been very high. In the 1950's, the birthrate there was 46 per thousand inhabitants, and it is 32 today. The birthrate fell from seven in the 1950's to 4.2 today, which is two and a half times higher than the birthrate in other parts of Yugoslavia. The "baby boom" has become the cultural option of the Albanian population. Along with the high birthrate, migrations have taken place. A large number of people, estimated to be several hundred thousand, came from Albania to Kosovo and Metohija. It is interesting to mention that no Serb, Montenegrin, or Macedonian is known to have emigrated from Albania. The only ones to emigrate were Albanians. Migration from Kosovo to other parts of Yugoslavia, however, was ethnically selective. In fact, the Albanian population in Kosovo is the least mobile population in Yugoslavia. When Albanians move, they usually move somewhere within the same opstina, so that they rarely cross the borders of the province. When they do move outside Kosovo and Metohija, then they settle in the neighboring opstinas of southern Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. We are thus witnessing a process called the "overflow" of the population. That can by no means be considered as one of the classic models of economic migrations, for the simple reason that it is not resettlement from the underdeveloped south to the developed north, but rather the occupation of territory.

In contrast to the Albanian population's migration model, the non-Albanian population emigrated from the province to considerably distant areas, and for completely different reasons.

The combination of these two elements, i.e., the natural increase of the Albanian population and the emigration of the non-Albanian population, has led to an explosive growth, on one hand, and to changes in the ethnic structure of that region, on the other. To a great extent, the process of the loss of ethnic plurality in Kosovo has been completed. Whereas the ratio of Serbs and Albanians was equal five decades ago, today Albanians constitute 90 percent of Kosovo and Metohija, and all the rest constitute about 10 percent.

Pressure on the Labor Market

[STUDENT] According to demographers' estimates, how many Yugoslavs will there be in the middle of the next century, and what will be the percentage of Albanians compared to the country's total population?

[Avramov] Today, the population of Kosovo and Metohija represents 7.7 percent of Yugoslavia's total population, and 30 percent of its natural increase. Kosovo represents 17 percent of Serbia's total population, and 76 percent of its natural increase. According to our estimates, in just a few years the natural increase of Kosovo and Metohija would constitute Serbia's total natural increase. That is a case without precedent. In any case, the population of Kosovo and Metohija will continue to

grow over the next few decades. It is realistic to expect that in about 3 decades, the population of Kosovo will grow to 3.5 million.

[STUDENT] Such assumptions are probably based on a decline in the birthrate. What if the birthrate remains the same?

[Avramov] The birthrate in Kosovo and Metohija is declining very slowly, but it is declining. That slow decline in the birthrate cannot be attributed solely to certain economic factors. The process of the modernization of society, economic development, and the education boom, etc., have not yielded demographic effects to the extent that could have been expected.

[STUDENT] There are about 30,000 unemployed in Kosovo and Metohija. The birthrate is extremely high. Twice the existing industrial capacity has to be built in that area during the next decade in order to solve the unemployment problem—which is impossible under these conditions. How do you view the unemployment problem in that province?

[Avramov] During the next decade, we can expect very high pressure on the labor market. Family planning no longer has any connection with that pressure that will occur, because all those children have already been born. Society should consciously conduct a long-term population policy so that the demographic effects of a policy that we could start to conduct now could be manifested only sometime around 2020. Currently, the unemployment rate in Yugoslavia is 14.6 percent, and in Kosovo and Metohija, it is 45.4 percent. A half million new jobs would have to be created in Kosovo during the next decade, and the annual rate of employment growth would have to increase from the present four percent to nine percent. In order to achieve full employment in Yugoslavia, it would be enough for the average annual rate to be 1.5 percent. All those facts say one thing—that jobs would have to be created at an unbelievable rate in order to solve the unemployment problem in Kosovo and Metohija.

[STUDENT] Wouldn't that be a continuation of the mistaken policy that Yugoslavia has conducted in Kosovo and Metohija ever since the war? Wouldn't it be easier to displace a certain number of citizens, especially since a large number of the people who came from Albania have not shown due loyalty to their new state?

[Avramov] It is very difficult to displace a large part of the population, and that cannot be done through any campaigns. It is absurd even to suppose colonizations like the postwar ones at the end of the 20th century. In that case the Albanian population would have to retrain and prepare for the migration, if it were motivated to do so. Migrations of unskilled workers are much simpler, especially since the language barrier is less of a problem. Educated generations, however, where problems of that type are more complicated, are coming to us from Kosovo. Most of the students who have been graduated have received an education in the social sciences, so that

the question arises of whether that stratum of people is capable of participating in economic life in any other parts of Yugoslavia or abroad.

Whether society will adjust its economic scenarios to the specific demographic situation or not is a matter of the political options; but it is nonsense to conceive of economic development without a corresponding social and cultural transformation.

[STUDENT] What, specifically, do you mean by social and cultural transformation?

[Avramov] One must work to break up the traditional normative systems and values of the archaic communities that are slowing development, i.e., represent a sort of cultural barrier to development.

[STUDENT] So far, Serbia has done very little to curb the "white plague" that is gathering more and more momentum in some parts of the republic. What social policy measures could be used to increase the birthrate in those regions?

[Avramov] Whether social policy measures can yield demographic results is a big question. Much more important is something associated with the structure of the society itself, value systems, intellectual judgments... That is something that affects social processes much more complex than this. I personally think that society

has an obligation to help all those who want to have more children to cover part of the costs in raising them, but it is more than unlikely that this would produce demographic effects.

[STUDENT] You said that during the next few decades, the natural increase in Serbia will come mainly from Kosovo and Metohija. Can that represent a cultural danger to the Serbian people?

[Avramov] I would not go so far as to conclude that the outlook for Serbs is disappearing, just because the number of Albanians is increasing.

[STUDENT] If there are twice as many Albanians in 30 years, and they have twice as many people unemployed, will Kosovo be an even more dangerous source of unrest in Yugoslavia and Europe than it is at this time?

[Avramov] That is a strategically very important question, since the population of neighboring Albania will also double in 30 years. It is thus realistic to expect that around 2020, there will be about 10 million Albanians on the Balkan peninsula, and in that context, one should keep in mind the fact that the total Albanian population will also be supplemented from Bulgaria and Greece, along with Austria, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark... Those options leave far more room for various speculations and considerations about possible scenarios for changes in this geographic area.

HUNGARY

Soviet Troop Withdrawal: Schedule, Commentary

25000692C Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG
in Hungarian 17 Mar 90 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Troop Removal Accounting"]

[Text] According to Soviet Government calculations, its Southern Command stationed in Hungary, slated to depart by the end of July 1991 according to the inter-governmental agreement reached last week, made more than 40 billion forints worth of investments in Hungary. Since these assets—buildings, roads, airfields, completed telephone lines—will be left in Hungary after the departure, they are demanding this much money from Hungary. The Hungarian side regards this figure as exaggerated. Based on a 1957 agreement, it is willing to pay only if the extent of wear and tear and the possibility of continued use are taken into consideration, because Hungary could hardly utilize, e.g., an abandoned shooting practice field. On the other hand, Hungary will also present its bills payable by the Soviet soldiers. According to military experts, the game surrounding the mutual debt is likely to end undecided, with both sides agreeing that no one owes anything to anyone.

According to a Hungarian-Soviet agreement not publicized to date, the Southern Command does not pay a leasing fee for the Hungarian establishments it used, but it is obligated to preserve the condition of such establishments. This did not take place in a countless number of cases; thus, most certainly, the largest item on the bill to be submitted by the Hungarians to the Soviets will be for maintenance work that was not performed in the establishments. Just how much such maintenance work costs is to be determined.

As of September 1989 the Soviet troops owed a total of about 130 million forints to almost 40 Hungarian firms, mainly to electric utilities. Since each troop did not pay independently for its orders—payments were made in the form of transfers by their Matyasfold center from a secretly administered account at the Hungarian National Bank—several months and, on occasion, several years of payment delays became a general phenomenon. They did pay part of their utility bills, and, therefore, the indebtedness was reduced to about 100 million forints, according to a military expert's estimate.

For a year now, they have owed the Crude Oil Pipeline Construction Enterprise 27 million forints for building a fuel tank. Since the legal status of the Southern Command stationed in Hungary is not settled, Hungarian

firms often do not know whom to call to protest payments that fail to materialize. A few times they have had to surrender their income because one or another commander has said that things were ordered by an unauthorized person.

Soviet soldiers, of course, ordered goods and services payable in forints only if it was worth doing it that way. They also had the authority to purchase goods payable in transferable rubles based on prices established by CEMA countries, thus, for example they bought chicken for less than a ruble per kg. In such instances the bill was added to Soviet foreign trade accounts payable. Last year the difference between the CEMA price and Hungarian wholesale prices amounted to a mere 1.2 billion forints, but since all this was based on agreements it would be useless to demand payment of these amounts.

In certain instances Soviet units paid neither in forints nor in rubles. Instead they simply "worked" for the value of goods and services: Soviet soldiers frequently appeared at cooperatives and firms located near Soviet barracks; they snapped corn, cleaned, painted with lime, dug holes, or brought coal or other heating fuel to settle their units' accounts. Bookkeepers frequently faced difficult tasks, because this kind of barter exchange was not based on regular business relations, but mostly on acquaintances instead. Some business organizations will miss not only the cheap, illegal Soviet work force, but also the work performed by some 1,000 officers' wives who took jobs with permission mainly in light industry enterprises.

In any event, the transportation by rail of some 50,000 Soviet soldiers, 50,000 family members, 27,000 combat vehicles, 230,000 tons of ammunition, 100,000 tons of fuel, and 230,000 tons of military equipment to Zahony may be good business for the Hungarian State Railroad [MAV] which is struggling with surplus capacities. Although the value of this order has not yet been calculated accurately, the trip to the border by 2,029 trains may cost about 1 billion forints. There is much talk these days about the impossibility of removing Soviet troops and their equipment by rail prior to the middle of next year, but in response to an HVG reporter's question an expert indicated that under urgent conditions MAV could accomplish the transportation of a volume of this size in two months.

Incidentally, the present agreement concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops has been consummated only between the two governments. The document must be ratified by the two countries' parliaments. If the new National Assembly that convenes in Hungary after the elections does not ratify the document, conditions for departure will be most certainly renegotiated.

Schedule of Soviet Troop Withdrawals (attachment to the intergovernmental agreement)

A szovjet csapatok kivonásának időpontja és a katonák, katonák mellékletei														
Helyesbítési egységek, intézetek	Helyesbítési egységek	Berakodási dátumok	A kivonandó katonák száma	1990										
				jan	febr	márc	ápr	máj	jún	júl	aug	szept	okt	nov
1. 5. tankosztály	1. 5. tankosztály	1. 5. tankosztály	115											
2. 6. motorizált lövészosztály	2. 6. motorizált lövészosztály	2. 6. motorizált lövészosztály	119											
3. 7. motorizált lövészosztály	3. 7. motorizált lövészosztály	3. 7. motorizált lövészosztály	116											
4. 8. rakéta egységek	4. 8. rakéta egységek	4. 8. rakéta egységek	40											
5. 9. légvédelmi egységek	5. 9. légvédelmi egységek	5. 9. légvédelmi egységek	75											
6. 10. rakéta egységek	6. 10. rakéta egységek	6. 10. rakéta egységek	20											
7. 11. rádióelektronikai egységek	7. 11. rádióelektronikai egységek	7. 11. rádióelektronikai egységek	8											
8. 12. légi erő	8. 12. légi erő	8. 12. légi erő	219											
9. 13. bűnüldöző és ki- szolgáló egységek (intézetek)	9. 13. bűnüldöző és ki- szolgáló egységek (intézetek)	9. 13. bűnüldöző és ki- szolgáló egységek (intézetek)	218											
10. 14. anyagi készletek	10. 14. anyagi készletek	10. 14. anyagi készletek	392											
11. 15. csapat és anyagszállító vonat összesen	11. 15. csapat és anyagszállító vonat összesen	11. 15. csapat és anyagszállító vonat összesen	1352*											

* Trains carrying only soldiers and military equipment

Key:

- Higher units, units, institutions
- Command posts
- Loading stations
- Number of trains
- Tank divisions
- Motorized sharpshooting divisions
- Motorized sharpshooting divisions
- Missile units
- Air defense units
- Technical units
- Radioelectronic units
- Air Force
- Security and service units (institutes)
- Materiel inventory
- Total freight and troop trains

BULGARIA**Order on 1989 Supplemental Incentives Issued**

90BA0067A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Council of Ministers Bureau Order No. 7, dated 23 February 1990, on Supplemental Incentive for 1989 in Companies, Other Organizations, and Their Branches]

[Text]

Council of Ministers Bureau Order

1. In setting individual wages, awards, and bonuses for annual results, companies, other organizations, and their branches must not allow any material incentive go to leading cadres, specialists, and other personnel, unless it is related to their specific contribution to fulfilling physical indicators, state orders, foreign exchange revenue, profits, and so on, based on their jobs and in accordance with internal wage regulations.

2. Individual wages of managers and their deputies must be mandatorily based on the fulfillment of natural indicators and foreign exchange income and, optionally, any one of the other indicators, as stipulated in Article 100, paragraph 3, of the Regulation on the Application of Ukase No. 56 on Economic Activities.

3. The overall amount of funds for supplemental incentive through individual wages, specific awards, and bonuses based on annual results of management cadres, specialists, and other employees may not exceed 50 percent of the funds allocated for basic wages (regular, tariff) for companies, other organizations, and their branches which have not applied the new system of basic wages; in the case of those who use the new system, 25 percent of the funds for basic wages of said personnel groups.

Based on the specific contribution made by individual management cadres, specialists, and other employees, within the limits of the overall amount, the collective management authorities may differentiate among material incentives, ignoring the stipulated restrictions.

4. The administrative councils of companies and other collective management authorities must ensure maximal publicity and extensive participation of the labor collectives in establishing the amount of individual wages, awards, and bonuses for annual results and payments to members of administrative and control councils.

The Ministry of Finance, the Committee for Labor and Social Security, and the Bulgarian National Bank must increase their control over the observance of the stipulations of Ukase No. 56 on Economic Activities, the other legal acts, and internal wage regulations in setting up individual wages and assigning awards.

In cases of proven violations, improperly paid material incentives must be repaid and the guilty officials must be prosecuted most severely.

Andrey Lukanov, Chairman of the
Council of Ministers
Pancho Burkalov, Chief Secretary of the
Council of Ministers

New Measures Aid Private, Individual Initiative

90BA0067C Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 9 Mar 90 pp 3-4

[Council of Ministers Resolution No. 15, dated 19 February 1990, on Encouraging Individual and Private Initiative in Agriculture]

[Text]

To provide durable guarantees and incentives to encourage private initiative in agriculture and ensure the extensive application of leasing and other forms of individual farming, in accordance with Ukase No. 922 of the State Council for 1989, the Council of Ministers

Decreases:

Article 1. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the executive committees of the people's councils, and the administrative councils of the labor cooperative farms must provide conditions for the development of individual initiative and the organization and activities of private farms, equal to the other forms of management.

Article 2. In accordance with Ukase No. 922 of 1989 (DV, No. 39, 1989), it suggests to the labor cooperative farms, the other agricultural organizations, and the executive committees of the people's councils:

1. To speed up the leasing of land with no restriction as to size and with the right to inheritance and other forms of management of land, equipment, buildings, and livestock to citizens, consumer cooperatives, and other organizations, for the production of agricultural commodities.

2. To provide, on request by members of cooperatives and other citizens, the maximal amount of the land for personal use, including perennial crops, such as vineyards, orchards, strawberries, and raspberries.

3. To grant land for private use to cooperative farmers in permanent areas for open-end use with the right to inheritance, and for developing perennial crops, erecting greenhouses and farm buildings, and making other permanent improvements.

4. To grant all uncultivated, neglected, underproductive, small-sized, sloped, and other partially used or neglected lands to citizens, regardless of their place of residence and work, in amounts stipulated in the Ukase, for

purposes of organizing private farms without making payments and enjoying the free use of produced agricultural commodities.

Article 3. (1) Orders the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry and the executive committees of the people's councils and suggests to the Central Cooperative Union and the economic associations and labor cooperative farms to organize and contribute to granting to farmers, on a contractual basis, livestock for raising and breeding, seed and planting material, fertilizers, preparations, and transplants, and making possible services involving the use of agricultural equipment and transportation facilities, agrochemical services, purchasing of agricultural commodities, etc.

(2) The Ministry of Industry and Technologies, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, and the Agrochemical Services Economic Association, must organize the production and procurement, suitably packaged, of the necessary fertilizers and preparations for use by private farmers.

(3) The necessary foreign currency for imports of fertilizers and preparations in 1990 must be provided by the Ministry of the Economy and Planning, with an annual balance within the limits of the overall quota; payments by the private farmers shall be in leva.

Article 4. In 1990 the production and import of small-sized equipment and petty agricultural implements must be secured to meet the needs of the private farmers in accordance with the appendix, in the following manner:

a. The companies Agrotekhnika, Karlovo; Agromashina, Ruse; Khidravluka, Kazanluk; Metalkhim, Sopot; and Elma, Troyan, and the Mechanization and Technical Services to Agriculture Economic Trust, must produce 20,130 motor cultivators and motor cutters with a set of implements; 3,000 motor pumps; 2,000 electric generators; 10,000 hay mixers; 1,000 wheel tractors-mowers, TKM-15 model, for mountain-area cultivation, and 1,000 motor cultivators, IMT-500 model. The companies must produce 40 percent of the annual output of small equipment by 15 May 1990 with a view to its active use this very year.

b. On a priority basis, the Agromashinaimpeks Trade Association must procure from the USSR, the following items in accordance with the 1990 trade protocol: T-16 M self-propelling chassis; T-25 A and T-40 ANM tractors, milk coolers, and individual milking machines.

c. By the end of April 1990, the Agromashinaimpeks Trade Association must ensure the contracting for and procurement from the nonsocialist countries of small equipment, machines, and installations, such as self-propelling mowers, portable motor sprayers, mowing attachments for motor cultivators, and TKM-15 tractors.

d. The Vipom Company in Vidin must ensure the additional production of 7,000 pumps for agriculture.

2. The Ministry of Economics and Planning must ensure the specific necessary nonsocialist currency for the purchasing of complementing items for the production and import of small equipment and attachments, and provide local resources for their manufacturing.

Article 5. The sale of agricultural equipment, fertilizers, preparations, and so on, to the farmers must be done by the stores of the Maltekhagro Technological Combine and by cooperative and other organizations. A document issued by the municipal people's councils certifying to the practicing of agricultural activities must be presented in purchasing tractors, motor cultivators, and transportation facilities.

Article 6. The private farmers:

1. Will choose their own system for marketing within the country of agricultural commodities they produce: through labor cooperative farms, specialized purchasing organizations, consumer cooperatives, processing enterprises, directly to public catering institutions, through individual and collective companies owned by citizens, or on the free market, in accordance with hygienic and ecological stipulations.

2. Shall have the right in exporting unprocessed agricultural commodities, based on contracts with foreign trade or other organizations, to purchase, at the current rate of exchange, 20 percent of the thus earned foreign currency.

Article 7. (1) Permission is granted to organize an Agricultural Credit Bank (a shareholding company) with main seat in Sofia and with branches in the country and abroad, and the following object of activities:

1. Granting short-term and long-term loans in domestic and foreign currency to private farmers or to their cooperatives, and make disbursements related to their loans and economic activities.

2. Guaranteed compensation to the private farmers, to the amount of their total damages caused by the nonfulfillment of contractual obligations toward them by state and other public organizations, in connection with supplying them with raw materials, materials, fodder, fertilizers, and so on, as well as in cases of nonfulfillment of obligations based on purchasing contracts for agricultural commodities.

3. Provide loans and organize through specialized units or assignments the purchasing, and domestic and foreign trade in agricultural commodities by private farmers as well as procurements and imports of raw materials, materials, equipment, and others, for their needs.

4. Organize leasing and insurance services for private farmers.

5. Build its own storage facilities, stores, and other installations for the development of trade in agricultural raw materials and goods.

6. Offer loans for the building of small farms and small enterprises for the processing of milk, meat, fruits and vegetables, etc.

7. Make marketing, technological, and other studies and provide private farmers with information on leading achievements and production-marketing forecasts.

(2) The capital of the Agricultural Credit Bank may not be under 7 million leva, in 1,000-leva share units.

(3) The bank will grant loans with proper guarantees for a maximal term of 10 years.

(4) The shareholders—private farmers—have the right to use in their economic activities bank loans double the quoted value of their stock, requiring no other collateral in favor of the bank.

(5) Interest on loans granted in national currency to private farmers will be 2.5 percent annually; in foreign exchange, it will be based on cost plus a 0.75 percent mark-up.

(6) The bank will draft and adopt its bylaws for purposes of the specific organization of its activities.

Article 8. The private farmers will buy insurance under the conditions and procedures of the Regulation on Public Insurance of Individuals Engaged in Labor Activities in Companies of Citizens and Individual Farms, on the basis of leasing contracts or of the registration or production of agricultural commodities on a piece-rate basis (DV, No. 70, 1989).

Andrey Lukanov, Chairman of the
Council of Ministers
Pancho Burkalov, Chief Secretary of the
Council of Ministers

Selected 1990 Partial Tax Exemptions Announced

90BA0067B Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 pp 2-3

[Order No. 8 of the Council of Ministers Bureau, dated 23 February 1990, Granting Partial Tax Exemption for Activities in Trade and Consumer Services]

[Text]

Council of Ministers Bureau Order

1. In accordance with Article 90, paragraph 3, of Ukase No 56 on Economic Activities (DV, No 4, 1989; corrected, No 16, 1989; amended, Nos 38, 39, and 62, 1989), a partial 25-percent exemption is granted for 1990 on the tax on profits of commercial companies and other organizations and activities providing household services and engaging in the production of confectionery goods.

2. The stipulations of Article 94, paragraphs 1 and 2, and Article 97 of the Regulation on the Application of Ukase No. 56 on Economic Activities (DV, No. 15, 1989;

supplemented, No. 97, 1989) shall not be applied in 1990 in the case of companies and other organizations engaged in trade and consumer services; Article 94, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the same regulation shall not apply to bread production.

Andrey Lukanov, Chairman of the
Council of Ministers
Pancho Burkalov, Chief Secretary of the
Council of Ministers

Law on Labor Dispute Settlement Announced

90BA0068A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK
in Bulgarian 13 Mar 90 pp 1-3

[Text]

Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes

Chapter 1

General Stipulations

Article 1. (1) The present law sets the procedure for settling collective labor disputes between workers and employers on problems of labor and insurance relations, and the living standard.

(2) In collective labor disputes, the workers will be represented by the authorities of their trade union organizations and the employers by their respective managers, unless the individual sides have granted power of attorney to other authorities or individuals.

Article 2. The present law will also apply in settling collective labor disputes between workers and employers in foreign or mixed companies or enterprises operating on the country's territory.

Chapter 2

Discussions and Voluntary Arbitration

Article 3. (1) Collective labor disputes are settled through direct talks between workers and employers or between their representatives, on the basis of a procedure they have freely agreed upon.

(2) The workers submit their demands in writing along with the names of their representatives to the talks.

Article 4. (1) If no agreement can be reached or if either side refuses to talk, either side may seek help in settling the argument from:

1. The respective ministry or other department or an authority assigned by the government, if the dispute involves a state company or enterprise.

2. The respective municipal people's council, in a dispute involving a municipal company or enterprise.

3. The respective cooperative association, if a dispute involves a cooperative.

4. The central management of the respective public organization, if the dispute involves this organization or its company or enterprise.

5. The collective management authority of the company if the dispute involves its branch.

6. The respective employer's association, in a dispute involving a company owned by private citizens.

(2) The talks stipulated in the preceding paragraph may last no more than 14 days or, by agreement between the parties, even longer.

Article 5. (1) In addition to the procedure stipulated in the preceding article, the dispute may be submitted for settling by a single arbiter or by an arbitration commission, on the basis of a written agreement between the parties.

(2) The single arbiter will be appointed by the two sides.

(3) The two sides will determine the number of members of the arbitration commission. Each side will nominate an equal number of arbiters who will elect as their chairman another individual from the list as per paragraph 4.

(4) Only an individual included in the list of arbiters, approved by the government or by its delegated authority, on the suggestion of all professional and employers' unions or their associations in the country, can be an arbiter or member of an arbitration commission. The list of such individuals will be published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. If necessary, it will be amended and supplemented in accordance with the procedure for drafting the list.

Article 6. (1) The arbitration dispute will be considered on the basis of a written request by the sides or their representatives.

(2) The dispute will be considered at an open session, in the presence of the parties. At the session the explanations of the parties and their technical representatives will be heard out, the written documents and other materials will be discussed, the views of third individuals may be sought as well, and the conclusions of experts may be requested.

(3) The dispute shall be discussed at no more than two sessions with no more than a seven-day interval between them, unless the parties agree on a different number of sessions or a different time interval between sessions.

Article 7. (1) The arbitration decision will be issued in accordance with existing legislation, in writing, within three days from the day of the final sessions.

(2) The arbitration commission will adopt resolutions based on simple majority.

(3) The resolutions, separate opinions, and motivations will be reported to the parties immediately.

Article 8. (1) An arbiter or a member of an arbitration commission who is legitimately employed has the right to unpaid official leave for the time of his participation in settling the collective labor dispute as per the present law. Such leave shall be considered part of labor seniority.

(2) The parties shall pay the arbiter and the members of the arbitration commission the fee agreed upon between them and the arbiter or the members of the arbitration commission for the consideration and resolution of the dispute, as well as any other expenditures related to the settling of the dispute.

Article 9. To meet its demands, either side may try to influence the other, without stopping work, by organizing public gatherings, meetings or demonstrations during nonworking time, and informing the public through the mass information media or any other legitimate means.

Chapter 3

Strikes

Article 10. If submitted claims have not been met, the workers may declare a symbolic strike by carrying or displaying appropriate signs, protest posters, ribbons, badges or any other suitable symbols, without stopping their work.

Article 11. (1) If no agreement as per Articles 3 and 4 of the collective labor dispute can be reached or should the employer fail to implement his obligations toward the workers, the latter may go on strike by temporarily stopping the implementation of their labor obligations.

(2) The decision to go on strike must be made on the basis of simple majority of workers in the respective enterprise or branch.

(3) Workers or their representative must inform in writing the employer or his representative no less than seven days prior to the beginning of the strike, indicate its length and the authority in charge of managing the strike.

(4) In accordance with the preceding paragraph, the workers may go on a solidarity strike in support of a legitimate strike by other workers.

(5) Without giving preliminary notice, the workers may go on a warning strike which may last no more than one hour.

Article 12. (1) For the duration of the strike, the workers must remain in the enterprise for the length of the stipulated working time.

(2) Striking workers may not engage in actions which would hinder or create additional difficulties in the normal development of activities outside their labor obligations.

(3) Any malicious violation of the stipulations of the preceding paragraph will mean a violation of labor discipline, for which the disciplinary penalties, as stipulated in the Labor Code, will be imposed, regardless of any other property, administrative or penal liability.

Article 13. (1) Participation in a strike is a voluntary act. No one can be forced to participate or not to participate in a strike.

(2) Creating obstacles or difficulties for the workers who do not participate in a strike and wish to continue with their work, is forbidden.

Article 14. (1) Workers and employers must ensure on the basis of a written agreement conditions for the performance of activities the nonfulfillment of which or the stopping of which could create a danger, during the period of striking, in the following areas:

1. Ensuring satisfactory communal and transport services to the population or stopping television and radio broadcasts.

2. Causing irreparable damages to public or private property or the natural environment.

3. Disturbing the public order.

(2) The written agreement as per the preceding paragraph must be concluded no less than three days prior to the beginning of the strike.

(3) Should the two sides be unable to reach an agreement as per the preceding paragraph, the question must be submitted to a single arbiter or an arbitration commission, consisting of arbiters as per the list stipulated in Article 5, paragraph 4, appointed by the Council of Ministers or an authority delegated by the Council of Ministers.

Article 15. During the strike the two sides will make efforts to ensure the final settlement of the argument through direct talks, through intermediaries or other suitable means.

Article 16. A strike is forbidden:

1. If the requirements submitted by the workers are in violation of the Constitution.

2. If the requirements of Articles 3, 4, 11, paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 14, and matters on which an agreement or an arbitration decision exists have been violated.

3. During a natural disaster and related urgent rescue and restoration works.

4. In the production, distribution, and supply of electric power and in communications and health care.

5. In solving individual labor disputes.

6. In the system of the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Construction Troops,

the troops of other departments, and the judicial, prosecutorial, and investigative authorities.

7. Related to the making of political demands.

Article 17. (1) The employer as well as the workers who are not on strike may submit a petition for declaring any announced, initiated or completed strike illegal.

(2) The petition must be submitted to the okrug court at the seat or place of residence of the employer. If one party to the dispute consists of employers whose seat or place of residence is in different judicial districts, the petition must be filed at the employer's choice with one of the respective okrug courts.

(3) The case must be adjudicated within seven days at an open session in accordance with the Civil Procedure Code and with the participation of a prosecutor.

(4) The court must announce its decision within three days from the review of the case.

(5) The decision of the court will be final and will be reported immediately to the parties.

Article 18. (1) Workers will not receive their wages for the time of participation in a strike. Within that time they may receive a compensation from a special strike fund. This fund may be set up by the workers, on a voluntary basis, with their own contributions or the funds of the trade union.

(2) The freezing of strike funds during a strike is forbidden.

(3) For the duration of his participation in a legitimate strike, the worker has the right to compensation from social security on the basis of general procedures; if the strike is considered illegal, such compensation is paid only if the worker has his own voluntary insurance.

(4) The time during which workers have participated in a legitimate strike is included in their labor seniority.

(5) A worker who has not participated in a strike but who, because of strikes by other workers, has been unable to fulfill his labor obligations, will be paid his wages as being inactive not on his own choosing.

Article 19. (1) Workers shall not be responsible either disciplinarily or materially for participation in a strike considered admissible in accordance with this law.

(2) A worker who participates in an illegal strike will be held disciplinarily and materially liable in accordance with the stipulations of the Labor Code and of other laws.

Chapter 4

Lockouts

Article 20. After a strike has been announced and for the duration of the legitimate strike, the employer may not

stop the activities of the enterprise or part of it and lay off the workers with a view to:

1. Prevent or end the strike.
2. Prevent the satisfaction of the formulated demands.

Article 21. During a legitimate strike, the employer has no right to hire other workers to replace the strikers in order to achieve the objectives stipulated in the preceding article, unless this is necessary for the implementation of activities as per Article 14, paragraph 1, for the duration of the strike.

Chapter 5

Administrative-Penal Liability

Article 22. (1) Anyone who violates the stipulations of Article 11, paragraphs 3 and 5; Article 12, paragraph 2; Articles 13, 14, and 18, paragraph 2; and Articles 20 and 21 will be punished with a fine from 200 to 1,000 leva unless subject to a more severe punishment.

(2) Violations per the preceding paragraph will be determined on the basis of reports drafted by the authorities in charge of state control over labor; the penal resolutions will be issued by the chairman of the executive committee of the municipal people's council at the place of commission of the violation.

(3) Violations will be determined and penal resolutions will be issued, appealed, and executed in accordance with the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties.

Additional and Concluding Stipulations

1. (1) Any agreement between the parties, reached in the course of the talks, arbitration or strike, as well as the arbitration decision are binding and subject to immediate execution.

(2) Disputes related to the implementation of agreements and arbitration resolutions as per the preceding paragraph shall be considered in accordance with the procedures for the consideration of disputes on the implementation of collective labor contracts.

2. (1) The terms "worker" and "enterprise" used in this law shall be used in the sense of item 1, point 2, of the additional stipulations of the Labor Code.

(2) In the sense of the present law, the term "employer" shall apply to any state, economic, public or cooperative organization or citizens who hire individuals for work on the basis of a legal labor relationship.

(3) The term "branch" in Article 11, paragraph 2, of the present law shall be used in the sense of Ukase No. 56 on Economic Activities.

3. The implementation of this law is assigned to the Council of Ministers.

The present law was adopted at the Ninth National Assembly, 15th session, third sitting, held on 6 March 1990 and stamped with the state seal.

St. Todorov, Chairman of the National Assembly
of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Economist Urges Priority Status for Agriculture

90BA0066A Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT
in Bulgarian 28 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Aleksandur Makaveev, candidate of economic sciences: "The Overthrown Leader"]

[Text] After the April 1970 BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee Plenum, Bulgarian agriculture found itself in a pre-heart-attack condition. It was then that the decision was made and implemented to establish the largest agroindustrial and industrial-agrarian complexes in the world. Subsequently, the vital forces which had gathered in the course of decades in the cooperative and state farms and consolidated cooperative farms began gradually to melt away, reaching a point by 1980 at which animal husbandry, for example, ended the year with a negative profitability sign of 1.99 which, subsequently, in 1988, reached - 14 percent. In the sector as a whole, the minus sign increased from 2.9 percent in 1986 to 7.1 percent in 1988. Such is the economic picture we inherited from the totalitarian regime of the recent past.

Unfortunately, even after the euphoric joy of our people on 10 November 1989, our agriculture continues mercilessly to be plucked clean and its funds channeled into various sectors, mainly our heavy industry. It is true that for the time being people are not assembling at meetings in the countryside. What is more tragic in this case, however, is that to this day no one is returning to the more than 800 depopulated villages.

Agriculture was given first priority in the development of our economy at the 11 December 1989 BCP Central Committee Plenum. Subsequently, the National Assembly as well appointed a Standing Commission for Agriculture. However, even after that no action was taken to ensure the practical implementation of this priority task, and lay the beginning in taking the agrarian sector out of its difficult situation. For this to be accomplished, the following problems must be resolved:

We must undertake the practical equalization of wages between agrarian production and industry and guarantee a 30-percent sectorial profitability. The government must take this acceptable demand into consideration. It has the opportunity to accomplish this, for, according to computations of the profit differences, based on the annual report for 1988, to this effect the brigades and agricultural organizations within the system of the National Agroindustrial Union will require 3.092 billion leva, including 805 million in crop growing and 1.448 billion in animal husbandry. These funds will also include the additionally required 303 million leva for wage increases.

Unless this rather pressing problem is immediately resolved, in all likelihood the amounts of meat, wool, and eggs will substantially decrease in the country, for so far for each 100 leva of revenue from the sale of such products, 127.5 leva are spent in sheep breeding (or a loss of 27.5 leva!); 112.1 leva in cattle raising and 107.8 leva in poultry breeding. Under those circumstances, justifiably, commodity producers are reducing their output, for the less they produce the more they earn. Is this not a paradox?

I realize that the new governmental team will find it difficult to solve this problem, the more so since the minister of economics and planning officially announced that this year no retail price increases are contemplated, for in 1988 the state paid an average of 0.15 leva per kilogram of wheat, 2.40 leva per kilogram of pork, and so on, while the finished food products from these materials are being sold in the stores at prices several hundred percent higher. The difference under the guise of the turnover tax has already been contributed to the budget. That is why it is impossible, without affecting retail prices, to increase the purchasing prices at the expense of the tax. This will guarantee for the sector the already mentioned additional revenue of 3.092 billion leva.

Adding to this amount another 147 million, it will become possible for the average wage of people employed in this sector to be raised by 30 percent compared to the average wage in the national economy. This will create material incentives for migration from town to country and for keeping the young in the countryside. This is particularly important at least until the sector has gathered sufficient strength to ensure its own further accelerated development.

As the computations show, giving priority to agriculture involves major expenditures. Some managers may accuse me of maximalism if I were to point out now that currently our agricultural production system needs more than 9 billion leva in direct production investments alone if it is to firmly stand on its own two feet within a short time. However, such is the real cost of the totalitarianism for which Vasil Tsanov, Todor Zhivkov and their circle are responsible. This cost must be met by society if it wishes a conflict-free life. Of this amount, 3 billion leva will not be a gift but will simply mean that what was plundered over the past 30 years will be refunded. It would be just to satisfy such claims. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, for example, the wages of farm workers are higher than those of workers in all other sectors. These sums also indicate that it is only the government that could provide material prerequisites for radical changes in agriculture through redistribution, for we must not mistakenly believe that the contributions made to the newly established Revival of the Bulgarian Village Fund could resolve the ossified problems in this area.

Another equally important problem is that of making a radical change in the social policy related to the Bulgarian villages. It would be accurate for the municipalities and mayoralties in the agricultural areas to be totally supported by the state budget so that more funds could be appropriated for the development of the infrastructure in these settlements, at the expense of the cities.

Of late there has been a rather noisy campaign on allowing residences to be used by health institutions and other organizations. However, no one has raised the question of returning the already confiscated balneosanatoriums and rest homes to the working peasants and putting them at the disposal of the labor collectives in agriculture. Some 25 years ago cooperative farm funds were used to build entire health palaces in Bankya, Burgas, Khaskovo, Sliven, Velingrad, Nesebur, Narechen, Strelcha, and many other areas, for the exclusive use by rural workers. Today, 70 to 80 percent of the people using them are unrelated to the countryside. Is it not time for such balneosanatoriums and rest homes to be returned to the toiling peasants? This will correct an injustice which was inflicted by the authoritarian regime and, at the same time, will guarantee that every year at least 30 percent of the working people in this sector will be able to enjoy an annual rest.

The time has come to realize that the uncontrolled development of private farms leads to legalizing robbery. The restrictions imposed in the past concerning the amount of livestock raised by a single family by the cooperative labor farms should be restored. The fact that in connection with the trips to Turkey hundreds of millions of leva were withdrawn from state savings bank accounts indicates that this is an unearned income and is the result, above all, of misappropriating fodder for private use. We believe that raising the purchase prices of animal husbandry goods will make it possible to produce a great deal more (and at a lower cost to society) of such goods by the public sector, thus compensating for the restrictions imposed on the private farms.

In this connection, attention should also be paid to leasing. In our view, quite rightly the National Assembly Legislative Commission did not adopt Ukase No. 922 which gave the right to life to collective farms and to leasing. In the same way that it is impossible to lease the production of, shall we say, television sets, lathes, and trucks. Land as well cannot be leased. This was pointed out by V.I. Lenin in the Decree on Land. This has been confirmed also by our practical experience: It is impossible, using power equipment, to cultivate 10 to 20 decares of small lots, ensure an ecologically consistent crop rotation system, and apply the latest achievements of selection, use of fertilizers, integrated plant protection, irrigation, etc. Nor are the existing industrial animal husbandry complexes suitable for leasing. Hence, the only possible future for our agriculture is to develop on the basis of socialist ownership, represented by large cooperative labor farms. It is precisely they (and not the private sector) that should become the priority target of political and economic restructuring. Those who rely

heavily on leasing and the private sector are unfamiliar with the specific nature of the sector and have not learned from Poland's mistakes in this respect.

Nonetheless, it would be justifiable to lease meadows and pastures in sloped mountainous and semimountainous areas (in excess of 10-20 degrees) and neglected land. The biggest problem in this case is the following: Will there be lessees and will the existing low purchase prices create in them an economic motivation to lease?

In July 1986 veterinary cadres became employees. They are being paid by the veterinary center. In turn, the center collects the wage funds from the output of livestock farms and breeding complexes. However, the unjustified centralization of veterinary services here as well did not yield good results. Every year our country is deprived of thousands of tons of animal husbandry goods because of increased mortality, reduced fertility, and lowered productivity.

In our view, we must restore abandoned practices. The controlling veterinary authorities can best fulfill their function only as state organs of the MZG while their current functions can be fulfilled by returning to the livestock farms and complexes. If it is determined that the Veterinary Affairs State Association is to be preserved in its present form (which we do not believe to be the case) the wages of veterinary cadres should come from the budget and not out of agriculture.

I do not believe that I have covered all problems but express my deep conviction in the accuracy of the decision to grant agriculture the status of a privileged sector. There are at least three reasons for this: economics—the stabilization of the sector will increase most rapidly the foreign exchange revenue of the country; social—guaranteed abundance and higher living standards of the working people; political—the struggle which is developing will inevitably turn into an economic struggle. This, in turn, will unquestionably prove the right of Bulgarian agriculture to lead the other sectors.

Agricultural Minister on Economic Initiatives

90BA0057A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
19 Apr 90 p 5

[Interview with Todor Pandov, Minister of Farming and the Food Industry for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent Yuriy Savin, Sofia; place and date not given: "Toward Market Relationships"—first paragraph is SELSKAYA ZHIZN introduction]

[Text] Serious changes are taking place in Bulgaria in the mechanisms for strengthening the agro-industrial complex. The Minister of Farming and the Food Industry for the NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria], Todor Pandov, discussed the essence of the processes taking place with our correspondent in Sofia, Yuriy Savin.

[Savin] In recent months, a number of decisions have been handed down in Bulgaria that touch upon economic relationships in the rural areas. How would you, Comrade Pandov, describe the government's policy in this sphere of national economics?

[Pandov] Among a number of profound changes taking place in our country's life, the agrarian reform problem is of priority importance. It can be carried out in several directions.

I will begin with qualitatively new economic relationships which must encompass in particular the question of ownership. Our principal aim is that of ensuring that this question will not be resolved based upon temporary political attitudes or street slogans but rather upon a sensible and realistic position. Land must be presented to those who will truly work and manage it. A preference should be shown for former owners and for members of cooperatives and for ensuring that the land is used only for agricultural purposes.

It is believed that all forms of ownership should be permitted: cooperative, state, private and mixed. They must not be opposed, but rather they should be allowed to compete under the same economic regime.

The second principal trend in agrarian policy—the conversion to a market economy. Several chief problems are being resolved by recently adopted governmental decrees. Here we have in mind first of all liberalization of the price mechanism.

[Savin] What is the essence of the measures adopted?

[Pandov] New and raised purchase prices have been established for products of primary need and this is not affecting the retail price level. That is to say, a store customer will pay just as much as he has in the past for the principal types of bread, meat, milk, dairy products, sugar and vegetable oil.

The prices for all other products will derive from a contractual basis depending upon supply and demand. But here provision is made for a measure for protecting the producers: for many products of special importance (grapes, tomatoes, cotton, apples and others), the state has defined a minimum guaranteed contractual price level that will ensure a proper profitability index.

Certainly, the specific contractual arrangements during all stages in the movement of products from the fields, gardens and farms to the consumer can affect the retail prices. We must become accustomed to this thought.

[Savin] In the meantime, the market has reacted to the new conditions for raising the prices for cucumbers.

[Pandov] In principle, this was expected. But I would note that the mentioned phenomenon applies to early vegetables and products which are not of such great value to the consumers and that it occurred during a shortage of products. I believe that within a month's time production and the market will to a considerable

degree return to normal and the tension will abate. I would also note that the documents adopted assign control to the price committee and other state organs for ensuring that the increase in retail prices is in keeping with the increased costs for raw materials and that speculation is eliminated.

[Savin] In connection with the approved principle, "The producer of agricultural products can himself select his trade partner," how are national balances in food goods to be achieved?

[Pandov] We believe that the national balances must not be achieved based upon mandatory computations and indicators that are defined on high using the subjective method. The decision has been made to reject state tasks. Here we have in mind the creation of an economic situation in which, from all of the possible alternatives for his development, an agricultural worker or collective selects that one which coincides with the interests of society. The new prices, additional economic stimuli and preferential resource support should be of assistance in this regard.

And there is still one other important aspect. The food balances, including territorial ones, are of concern not only to the ministries but also to the rayons and enterprises. It is enough to wait for the government to solve the problems and to conduct all of the operations. In the new situation, competition will exist for those who meet the new requirements. It is noted that the state has facilitated a start for enterprising individuals. The profit tax for working cooperative farms is half of what it once was. The tax burden for these farms is now the same as that for leaseholders and private farms.

Agricultural enterprises have been released from having to pay credit obligations that have accumulated over a number of years—as a result of incorrect agricultural policies. And this amounts to 2.1 billion leva [monetary unit of Bulgaria]. A preferential system for capital investments in agriculture has been established. The rights of producers of agricultural products in disposing of the currency earned by them have been expanded considerably. They are now interested both in exporting their products and in as little use as possible of costly imported resources. At the same time, improvements are being realized in working conditions and pension allowances.

[Savin] And how is the problem of logistical support for the rural areas being resolved?

[Pandov] In principle, just as in other spheres of activity, the laws of the market are becoming firmly established here, with each entity searching for its own raw materials, other materials and equipment. The state provides resources for the production only of those products for which contracts have been concluded in connection with the creation of centralized funds. Here we have in mind grain, meat, milk, sugar beets and sunflowers. In addition, the plans call for the allocation on a preferential

basis of currency for the purchase of resources considered of importance for the rural areas: valuable feed components, herbicides, pesticides, fertilizers and veterinary preparations.

I wish to emphasize that the third principal trend in our agrarian policies is the technological reequipping and structural restructuring of production. Its realization will depend to a large extent upon success being achieved in connection with the first two trends—in solving the problem of ownership and the development of market relationships. At the same time, the state, through the use of economic methods and by regulating the distribution of the more deficit resources, will create favorable conditions for production operations considered favorable for both the foreign and domestic markets.

And finally, the fourth and principal trend of our agrarian policies is associated with the revival and development of our Bulgarian countryside. Importance is attached to ensuring that serious improvements are achieved in living and working conditions here.

[Savin] But where will the funds and resources required for this be found?

[Pandov] The revival of the countryside will obviously be a long drawn out process. But it has its own priorities. Perhaps, we must first and foremost concentrate on those problems associated with the sociodomic aspect of the work. The peasants must be able to purchase the needed products in the various areas. They must be able to call upon skilled repairmen for repairing their television sets or washing machines. They must be able to obtain competent medical assistance. Their children must be able to study during the day and to spend their evening hours in an interesting manner.

These then are some of the problems that must be solved and hopefully through joint efforts. We believe that this is a problem for both the state and agriculture. It must also become the concern of other enterprises located in the same region. Indeed, they are also interested in the revival of the rural areas and in good living conditions for the rural inhabitants, many of whom are working in industry, transport or in other branches.

[Savin] Under the new conditions, what role is played by your ministry?

[Pandov] Today, in addition to directing production operations, it must also implement state policy associated with carrying out the agrarian reform. The ministry is concerned with the use of economic regulators and it furnishes assistance to cooperative farms and their associations in the area of resource-information support and in the sale of products on the foreign market.

It should be noted that today the ministry is developing based upon functional-branch principles, with duplicate elements being eliminated. The staff consists of 240 individuals—40-50 percent less than was earlier the case.

A reorganization of elements associated with the purchasing of agricultural products is presently being carried out.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

First Quarter Statistics Surveyed

90GE0080A East Berlin DER MORGEN in German
20 Apr 90 p 6

[Unattributed article from the Report of the Statistical Office on First Quarter Economic and Social Development: "Clearly a Drop in the Bucket"]

[Text] In the nation's economy, during the first quarter of 1990, the amount of industrial goods produced in an average workday had declined by 4.8 percent compared with the same period in 1989. In industry, the decline was 4.7 percent. The level of production in a workday during the first quarter of 1990 was in keeping with the annual average in 1988.

That was due to a great extent to the continued decrease in workers, the lack of turnover, disruptions in cooperation, production shutdowns, and imbalances within and between various branches of industry, as well as bottlenecks in materials. Of the total 3,440 industrial plants, production declined in 2,100 plants, and in 916 cases, the decline was greater than 10 percent.

In March, 1990, the increase in the level of production, which began in February with regard to the previous month, continued, thus leading to a continued diminution in output over last year. When compared to March 1989, the production of industrial goods per workday had declined by 3.8 percent. When compared with February 1990, it had increased by 1.2 percent. By the end of March, the number of workers employed by industry amounted to 2,812,200. That is 124,000 fewer, or 4.4 percent fewer than in March of the previous year.

Construction in the first quarter of 1990 was 14.0 percent below the level for the corresponding period last year, and the figure for March was 13.7 percent below that for the same month last year. Almost half of this decline could be attributed to the decreasing numbers of workers. When compared with the previous month, February 1990, construction production per workday increased by 4.4 percent in March. By the end of March, 516,800 workers were employed in the construction trades. That represents a decline of 33,000, or 6.1 percent fewer than in March 1990. In the first quarter of 1990, and in March, there was a marked decline in the construction of new housing and in renovation of existing housing stock, when compared with the first quarter and the month of March last year, respectively. From the beginning of the year through the end of March, 12,224 new housing units were constructed, and 9,751 units were modernized. That represents a decline of 6,102 new units, and 17,518 renovated units when compared with the corresponding period last year. The

decline affected all districts—except Karl-Marx-Stadt, as far as new construction is concerned.

State production of animal products increased by 3,000 tons in the case of cattle for slaughter (or 0.5 percent), 101,000 tons of milk, (or 5.6 percent), but egg production was down by 21 million (or 1.6 percent) when compared with the first quarter of 1989. The need for eggs was met.

The transportation system (disregarding marine transportation) handled 114.6 million tons of goods from the beginning of the year until the end of March. Due to a reduction in mass shipments of goods in particular, that figure was 9.7 million tons or 7.8 percent less than the figure for the corresponding period in the previous year. Transportation needs in March, like those of the preceding months January and February, were below those of the previous year.

In March, 81,212 citizens applied for assistance from the State Employment Office in locating employment. That figure was 34,064 higher than in February. As in February, more than half of them were unemployed. At the end of March, 38,313 people were registered as unemployed. Of these, 6,994 were in Berlin, 3,789 in the District of Halle, 3,536 in the District of Potsdam, and 3,230 in the District of Rostock.

Exports and imports for the first quarter of 1990 in the GDR were below the corresponding levels for the previous year, despite a large increase in March over February's figures. In the first three months of this year, there was a 7.9 percent decrease in exports, and a 7.0 percent decrease in imports over the corresponding period last year. In March, however, 21.2 percent more exports and 21.0 percent more imports were undertaken than in the previous month.

The net revenues of the population in the first quarter of 1990 were 4.3 billion marks higher, or 10.1 percent greater than in the first quarter of 1989. The greatest increase in net revenues can be attributed to the fact that the monetary income of the LPG [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] and PGH [Artisan Producer Cooperative] members grew by 18.5 percent in the first quarter of 1990. Other influential factors included the pension increases of December 1989, the supplements to the State child support payments, which were intended as a measure to offset the removal of other subsidies, as well as salary adjustments, particularly in the areas of health-care, commerce, and the maintenance industry. In March, the net monetary revenues increased in comparison with those of the same month last year by 1.0 billion marks, or 6.8 percent.

By the end of March, the people had savings amounting to 162.4 billion marks. That amount grew by 3.0 billion marks since the beginning of the year, while the cash reserves declined by 3.5 billion marks to 13.5 billion marks. In this way, the peoples' savings were depleted by

0.5 billion marks in the first quarter of 1990. In the first quarter of the previous year, they had increased by 6.5 billion marks.

In terms of effective prices, retail sales during the first quarter had increased by 2 billion marks, or 6.5 percent above the first quarter of 1989. The increase was not as great as it had been the year earlier, which, as of the end of February lay at 9.6 percent. That had a particular effect on the sales of industrial goods, the growth rate of which declined from 14.3 percent to 9.4 percent. In March, retail sales figures were 1.3 percent higher than they had been in the previous year. In the case of industrial goods, the rate of increase was 1.6 percent. The "wait and see" buying behavior is becoming evident in sales developments in passenger cars and electronic acoustical equipment in the first three months of 1990 as opposed to the corresponding months a year ago. If these

products accounted for 5.2 percent (vehicles) of the quantity received, or 13.3 percent of the quantity received (electronic acoustical equipment), these figures declined by 9.3 percent and 24.2 percent, respectively.

The citizens' buying habits led, in the case of a number of products, to considerable increases of inventories. In the first quarter of 1990, an increasing amount of the market share was lost to domestic production in terms of total quantities of goods supplied to the population. The proportion of goods available through domestic sales of domestically produced goods declined as compared to the figures for 1989. In the case of yard goods and finished clothing, for example, the decline went from 73.5 percent to 56.5 percent, in terms of knitted goods and jerseys, the decrease was from 91.9 percent to 80.6 percent, and in technology (apart from automobiles), the decline was from 60.4 percent to 42.0 percent.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

New Rector Interviewed on Educational Reform

90GE0079A East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE
in German 21-22 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Prof. Dr. Heinrich Fink, new rector of Humboldt University in East Berlin, by the GDR Evangelical News Service; place and date not given: "We Will Have To Learn Anew How To Deal With the Truth"]

[Text] [BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] Professor, after 40 years of Marxist-Leninist interpretation of science and corresponding educational practices, a theologian has now been freely elected by a large majority to be rector of the Berlin university. What induced you to apply for this office?

[Fink] I did not apply for this office but all the faculties suggested me and I was unable to get out of it. A lot of pressure was put on me since I had not wanted to become a candidate. I knew what was involved. My candidacy was also urgently requested primarily by faculties which were not devoted to the humanities.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] Before the election you said that not one-track specialists but educated scientists should come out of this university and that their professional ethics must be based on a classical education. How bad was the aberration of the past and what must be reformed?

[Fink] The methods of studying science must be reformed. What we have to relearn is to search for the truth. We have to learn how to deal with this truth without knowing in advance what research results should be; I am talking especially about the humanities.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] For all fields, from veterinary medicine to geophysics and even theology, the study of Marxism-Leninism was a basic requirement. A correspondingly large number of social scientists were members of the faculty. What will happen to them? How will the faculty change?

[Fink] The Marxism-Leninism department will be disbanded on 31 August 1990. But the people will remain at the university. The university is offering a large retraining program for the social sciences, ecology and economics. Our colleagues from the Marxism-Leninism department will have a chance to be accepted by the new institutes. But the new institutes must appoint their teachers themselves. Competence will be critical to an appointment.

The basic study of Marxism-Leninism did not necessarily hurt our students. I had hoped that they would benefit more from a philosophical approach, by learning the dialectics of Marxism, which, regretfully, they were not taught. And that is one of the problems. Students were bored and in part they heard some of these teachings three times already in their life; in elementary

school, in high school, and now at the university. I think by now they are tired of Marxism-Leninism but it will come back.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] You are director of the school of theology. What role did the school play in the environment of a socialist university? How does the theological faculty see its future role?

[Fink] We were usually like a small wildlife sanctuary in this university. We had to perform the same duties but had actually more rights than any of the other faculties. That happened since we were a "traveling staff" from the beginning because of our mission in the Evangelical Church. Only very few of our colleagues on other faculties could travel as freely.

The humanities will play an important role in the future, that is already apparent. A broad-based curriculum has taken the place of Marxism-Leninism. We offer bible studies—that is our most popular course. There is a great need to catch up with what may be called capitalist philosophy but also with the meaning of evangelical theology and of the church. The church occupies an important place at the university. Actually I was not often questioned about my past activities; I was asked to become the leader of the roundtable here at the university as an ecclesiastical councillor. This advantage of the church must now be handled in such a way that it does not quickly disappear.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] Will you keep your church and academic duties in your new position?

[Fink] Yes, my new office will immediately start with two synods. One is the Berlin-Brandenburg synod and the other is an Evangelical Church of the Union synod. This meeting of the Berlin-Brandenburg synod happens to be at the end of its legislative period but that doesn't really matter. I would hope that the university realizes that its rector is a theologian. It must accept that, and it also expects it.

After the election I was asked to give a speech and this speech would have been no different if it had been given at a synod. I was concerned about the paradigmatic change and about the schisms in our history. Our church has a history in the GDR and the GDR has a history of its own. The goal is not to change history but to revise it, especially the history of the university with its very serious schisms.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] The churches in the past have found reasons to provide theological education in their own universities in addition to that provided by the theology schools at other universities. To you think this parallel structure will continue to be appropriate and promising?

[Fink] I can't judge whether it is promising but it is, in any case, appropriate. One has to ask oneself whether a theological faculty belongs in a state university. Otto Grotewohl posed this question in 1952. Otto Dibelius

answered it by asking us to stay at the university. I am very pleased and gratified that the church leadership has renamed its language seminary the Berlin-Brandenburg Ecclesiastical University. This is a place for religious education and offers a choice of places to study. I am very glad that this ecclesiastical university exists and I hope it will continue to exist.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] Is the increase to 12 semesters of study significant?

[Fink] It is being talked about because students have no knowledge of ancient languages when they arrive at the university. It has also become increasingly apparent that students—after male students spent 1.5 years in the Army—do not quickly make up their lack of knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Besides, liberal arts courses have been added, so that the average student needs at least 12 semesters.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] Recent protest actions have shown that the old image of general support, assured study conditions and the professional future of students was apparently a misconception. The students itemize problems and fears. What is the responsibility of the students and what of the university?

[Fink] Life is becoming more expensive for students, therefore, the value of scholarships has to be increased. Students have greater expectations. We need more dormitory space. It is also obvious that students marry at an earlier age and that their standard of living expectations are changing. We have to consider these things.

It is important that female students, who become mothers while studying, are given the opportunity to bring their children to day nurseries or kindergarten. We can't allow those who are socially vulnerable—that is, female students, young mothers—to slip through the social safety net because of rationalizations now. As rector I will join students in the streets to make this point.

[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE] When in the foreseeable future Berlin will again be one city it will have three large universities. Will they continue to coexist?

[Fink] I am convinced that this situation will be permanent, regardless. Paris has seven universities. Even if there had been no split, Berlin's universities would have exploded. The demand will not decrease. I am sure—and my West Berlin colleagues also hope—that Berlin will continue as a scientific Mecca. Much will be adjusted and changed but in a positive direction. We can only learn from one another.

Minister for Labor, Social Services on Worker Status

90GE0076A East Berlin TRIBUENE in German
23 Apr 90 p 3

[Interview with Minister for Labor and Social Services Dr. Regine Hildebrandt by Schuetz/Fischer; place and date not given: "Creative Plans for Combating Fear"]

[Text] [TRIBUENE] What, in your opinion, are the chances of the roundtable's draft for a constitution? Opinions were quite divided in the People's Chamber....

[Hildebrandt] In principle it is a marvelous thing but not worth the effort required to make it pass. It is important that the right to work and to have support in finding work be established. Working people should be tied in even before they become unemployed. With regard to unemployment, we all have to readjust our thinking. We are acting on the assumption that now we will not be able to secure work for everybody. For decades we have been told that capitalism means social insecurity. But we need to be optimistic. I think we can do it and to offer prospects to many people.

[TRIBUENE] That does sound optimistic. However, unemployment is already a reality in our country. How are you approaching this problem?

[Hildebrandt] By now I have learned one thing: If the economy is to function tolerably, there must be some unemployment. We cannot preserve unproductive jobs with subsidies. This policy should not threaten the jobs of the handicapped; that is not what I mean. We must offer new jobs through continuing education and find solutions through retraining even after large-scale dismissals.

[TRIBUENE] At the moment nothing much is happening....

[Hildebrandt] The problem is to mobilize the appropriate facilities. Here, every fourth enterprise has its own educational facility. Many of them are now simply disbanding. But we have to see to it that they are expanded. We must think big. For instance, 26 percent of the employers already announced their willingness in January to finance training projects. There are also so-called employment organizations, which directly organize training projects in enterprises whose production is collapsing. The capitalist enterprises are my only solace in this situation. We need a favorable climate for investments. If that succeeds, many jobs can be created.

[TRIBUENE] Are there any studies of the GDR's economic situation which you can use to perform your ministerial function?

[Hildebrandt] For that one doesn't need any studies, although, naturally, there have been investigations. We can see where people are now being dismissed. My ministry receives many requests from enterprises desiring to get rid of the foreigners who are working in

the GDR because of treaties with other states. This way we know where problems are particularly severe at this time. We are making efforts to cancel these treaties. But that can't be done on the spur of the moment. We are appealing for solidarity with the foreigners; just as we expect solidarity from others.

[TRIBUENE] Do you think that social service protection is realistic for GDR citizens considering the desolate state of the economy? Adding to the problem is the declining willingness in the FRG to make sacrifices for the brothers and sisters here.

We have experienced great solidarity during our visit with Mr. Bluem and his staff. As social policymakers they accept their responsibility for helping us. We need creative ideas. We did not talk about direct financial aid but about many kinds of support which would help us build a structure that can survive. We agreed that FRG specialists should help us set up qualified employment offices.

[TRIBUENE] What do you mean by creative solutions?

[Hildebrandt] Something other than the routine procedures currently used in our offices. We need a new approach. Job offers must come directly from the employment office. Just as they do in the FRG, for instance, where certain activities to help the environment are paid for by the employment office.

[TRIBUENE] The government's policy statement said that the Free German Labor Federation is no longer needed as a benefactor. What does that mean?

[Hildebrandt] In the past it was always like this: The Labor Federation provided social services and pensions. Where the money came from and how it was spent, nobody knew. That is deadly. We need open conditions and not a benefactor. We will now establish a normal premium-supported insurance system. Health insurance must be self-supporting.

[TRIBUENE] Why did you oppose trade union legislation?

[Hildebrandt] The way I see it, we need a labor-management act and staff councils. For that we also want to create a legal basis. Trade unions are a special interest group for the workers, which we definitely need as a strong partner in collective bargaining but not as managers of recreational areas. The FRG also does not have a trade union law. What we need in industry is worker representation, in which trade unions can, of course, also be active.

[TRIBUENE] Can you offer hope to those who are now—or soon will be—unemployed?

[Hildebrandt] First of all, we have to observe the still-existing legal requirements. We must act in accordance with the constitution. To those who are affected by unemployment I offer the prospect of broadly based retraining programs.

Minister Cited on Health Care Plans

90GE0086A East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German
3 May 90 p 3

[Article by Helga Lindner: "Improved Care With No Social Cutbacks"—first paragraph is NEUE ZEIT introduction providing biographic data]

[Text] The new health minister, Prof. Juergen Kleditzsch, M.D., specialist for physiotherapy and orthopedics, comes from the upper Elbe valley: Born in Bad Schandau in 1944, father of three children and married to a physician, today still lives in the town of Pirna. For years, he headed the department of physiotherapy at the Orthopedic Clinic of the "Carl Gustav Carus" Medical Academy in Dresden. After his appointment as associate professor in 1987, having been active for some time with research in the field of electric stimulation for the healing of bones, he was appointed head of the interdisciplinary research department in 1988. Prof. Kleditzsch (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] had been bezirk physician in Dresden since December 1989.

There will be no impairment in the care of citizens, and no social cutbacks will be permitted for staff members in the health care system of the GDR, which must be reshaped with a view to unification of the two German states.

This was said by the new health minister, Prof. Juergen Kleditzsch, M.D., (CDU), in his first statement to the press (see also NEUE ZEIT, 28 April). In his statement and talks with journalists, he pointed to the most pressing current problems and presented conceptual ideas on overcoming them as well as on the general renewal of the health care system under free market conditions. At the beginning he also pointed out the present structural changes occurring in his ministry. In future it will be exclusively responsible for matters concerning the health care system, since social issues were taken out and assigned to new ministerial competences.

With regard to the most pressing tasks for his ministry, it must be attempted within a short time to rehabilitate hospital and old-age home buildings, two-thirds of which are dilapidated, and bring them up to international standards. In this, FRG aid is indispensable. Simultaneously, the social infrastructure must be improved for personnel. Modern business practices in these institutions are indispensable. The personnel's willingness to perform would certainly increase with better working conditions, performance-oriented pay, and making qualified part-time work possible.

The minister advocated uniform expert management of the health care system with a view to better utilization of all existing personnel and technical capacities. For example, the sports and traffic medical services, as well as company health care systems with their preventive and curative orientation which must be preserved, are

now increasingly taking on health care tasks for the country's citizens. The minister responded to a question by NEUE ZEIT that, in this manner, the sometimes critical situation in the medical field has already been largely stabilized. There is still a considerable shortage of midlevel medical personnel, particularly of specially trained nurses in the operating room. However, one can no longer speak of a "nursing emergency situation" which still exists in the field of neurology/psychiatry; that must be remedied as soon as possible.

The minister announced that as soon as in the next few days, health care and social welfare offices would be established in the country. This would be done in the interest of better service and with a view to unification. These offices will have the task of continuing proven preventive care systems such as the infant welfare service or cancer prevention.

Prof. Kleditzsch also mentioned the establishment of professional associations for physicians, dentists, and pharmacists on the Land level, which will serve their qualification as well as representation of their interests. This association system is being worked out at present. Associations for doctors participating in health insurance are also needed. In the present complicated situation in which there is above all the concern for social security, the minister considers favorably an 'insurance-neutral' insurance system for citizens.

On the question of future ownership forms in the health care system, he stated that there will be a variety—in addition to state, municipal, religious and other institutions, there will also increasingly often be private practices. For these, as well as for their fees, a corresponding regulation must be worked out. Medical specialists willing to start private practices—whose prior consultation is indispensable—will be given support. But in this context the minister pointed out that, in view of the GDR labor law, it simply cannot be done if physicians willing to go into private practice want to dismiss their present coworkers. Applications by FRG doctors to establish private practices will be denied at present—on this there is agreement with the FRG partner, in order to protect the interests of GDR citizens.

Minister Kleditzsch called health education and health protection an essential pillar of the future health care system. Concentration will be on the problem complexes of alcohol, drugs, and nicotine [use]. Comprehensive preventive systems must be developed. German-German groups of experts are working on appropriate considerations. The health minister expressly condemned nicotine advertisements which are ruthlessly being introduced here at present.

In his remarks, he also paid attention to the field of rehabilitation; it is to be promoted in the medical, pedagogic, and social spheres.

The minister pronounced himself in favor of clear concepts in the field of care for the elderly in particular, and he pronounced it a priority task to give help to the

weakest in society—the elderly and the handicapped as well as the youngest. He expressed appreciation for the use of people's solidarity and pleaded for close cooperation; he also pledged support for associations of the elderly and handicapped and for self-help groups. He submitted concrete proposals for improved care of the elderly: creation of day-care rehabilitation establishments, citizen-oriented social stations, and comprehensive aid services.

On the subject of abortion, the health minister stated that, as established in the government's coalition paper, the regulation on time limit will be retained. But some things would have to be rethought and reassessed; more attention should be paid to the problem of risk for women, and personal responsibility should be appealed to more strongly.

With regard to filling higher management jobs, Prof. Kleditzsch favors public advertisements—decisions based on competence should be in the hands of expert commissions.

The minister pledged cooperation with professional associations in his field. It is necessary to jointly develop health care strategies, improve structures, discuss personnel matters—not least of all with a view to social union.

Within the framework of improved medical service, research is of great importance; a concept is being worked out at present. The Council for Medical Science will retain its importance, but there are considerations as to substance and structure. The same applies to the Academy for Continued Medical Training; its existence is not in jeopardy, but substance and tasks would have to be discussed.

The question about aid to the Third World was answered by the CDU health official to the effect that attention must be paid not only to one's own country; that, naturally, there would also be such a commitment in the future; the Third World must not take last place. "Particularly as a Christian," said Prof. Juergen Kleditzsch, "I consider it indispensable to help others—to reach out with our hands and to practice solidarity."

POLAND

Environmental Disaster in Upper Silesia Detailed

90WN0036Z Vienna PROFIL in German
9 Apr 90 pp 72-75

[Article by Burgl Czeitschner: "Dreary Black"—first paragraph is PROFIL introduction]

[Text] In the Upper Silesian industrial area the environment is a public danger. Gigantic poison cauldrons are destroying the land and the people.

Two deformed trees, a concrete-covered soccer field full of holes, a swing. This is the recreation center of Tarnowskie Gory, a small town in southeast Poland, in Upper Silesia. Five children are greatly excited to find a tuft of grass. Something with a delicate shade of green—a sensation for the little ones, like the first snow in this country.

The children of Tarnowskie Gory know only black soil. Their playground is in the shadow of huge smokestacks, from which fly ash, sulfur dioxide, and other pollutants have been raining down on them for decades.

The Upper Silesian industrial area is half the size of the Ruhr, with 3,000 plants jammed into it—among them 18 iron and steel mills, seven nonferrous metal plants, eight major industrial plants, 40 industrial power plants, 30 chemical plants, 80 machine tool works, 60 coal mines, and all the lead and zinc mines of the country.

In Zabrze, Upper Silesia's filthiest town, a truck parks at the market square. A line of people starts up as if by command. Even since democracy returned to Poland, the black market has still flourished. A farmer from Kluczbork, situated outside of Upper Silesia, is selling chickens, eggs, and bread. He need no longer worry about the police. On the contrary: The new government promotes free enterprise. His wares are cheaper and better than those in the supermarket next door. The people of Zabrze buy everything he has to sell.

At that moment, 14-year-old Barbara from Bytom is being pushed into the operating room of the Zabrze hospital. She is forced to live in a town where the

threshold value for sulfur dioxide is exceeded by a factor of three, day after day. Ever since she was born, she has inhaled massive quantities of lead, zinc, cadmium, and nitric oxide with every breath. Her larynx is unable to cope with it.

Every other child here is particularly vulnerable to disease—especially of the respiratory system. Anemia is counted among the more harmless defects. Birth defects are four times as prevalent as in the rest of the country.

Katowice, 1400 hours. Change of shifts in the largest coal mine of the area. Prior to riding the elevator down, the miners cross themselves. In Upper Silesia there are four times the number of occupational accidents as in the rest of Poland. Thirty-four-year-old Tadeusz was almost killed by a support beam; he was in a plaster cast for three months. At the end of his shift he looks like an old man; at the end of the month he finds about 1,200 schillings in his pay envelope.

In Chorzow the streetcar passes right next to the steel mill. Four gigantic smokestacks have been spewing their filth into the air forever without benefit of filtration. During periods of inversion, ghostlike, poisonous clouds float through the town. At those times people cough even more than usual.

Three boys are squatting behind a black shrub, smoking one cigarette among them. There are few people who do not smoke around here. In the pub, 48-year-old Jacek tears open his second pack of cigarettes: "Makes no difference anyway." He has lung cancer, not just from smoking. Two months ago the former steelworker was sent into early retirement after 34 years on the job.

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